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ABSTRACT

These transcripts of statements on televised violence and obscenity presented by government officials and representatives from universities, national organizations, and the television industry, include an outline of the proposed Murphy Bill. This bill would limit the control of the three networks over television programming and promote competition in the production, sale, and distribution of programs for television broadcasting. Additional materials submitted for the record by concerned groups are included, i.e., publications, program reports, exchanges of letters, journal articles, additional statements, and letters directed to the committee or its chairman. (CMV)

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SEX AND VIOLENCE ON TV

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

THE ISSUE OF TELEVISED VIOLENCE AND OBSCENITY

MARCH 2, 1977

Serial No. 95–130

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SEX AND VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1977

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Communications,
Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:42 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 2123, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Lionel Van Deerlin, chairman, presiding.

Mr. Van Deerlin. The hearing will come to order.

Today we begin the third and, I hope, the final phase of our hearings on sex and violence on television. Only by coincidence does this fall in with what some have called "Turn Off Television" Week.

We have already heard from a number of witnesses in Denver and in Los Angeles, late last year. Today we will hear testimony from communications researchers, from a legal scholar, from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, from the broadcast industry and the TV networks, from the Hollywood program production industry, from public interest groups, and from the American Medical Association.

Section 326 of the Communications Act, if not the first amendment itself, protects the broadcast industry from Government interference in programing, both news and entertainment.

We have a duty to hold oversight hearings on this issue, however, in order to give members of the public and representatives of interested parties an opportunitiy to discuss the matter, and to consider options open and available to us.

We can also discuss the latest research, and see if more needs to be done in this area. We can hear from the TV networks and ask them what they intend to do, if anything, about the levels of violence in their programing.

I hope our dialogue may help improve the situation, free of Government threat or intimidation.

Before welcoming our first witness, there are other members of the subcommittee who might wish to indulge in opening statements. I hope that they will be inspired by the brevity already demonstrated by their chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Murphy?

Mr. Murphy. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Unfortunately, I cannot be with you all morning. The tuna fleet of San Diego has returned to port with its flag at half mast, and I have to go over and tell them the difference between a tuna and a porpoise, so I will have to leave to you such important topics as sex and violence on TV.

C

In 1972, I testified before the then Pastore committee on the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, and I concurred with Dr. Jesse Steinfeld at that time, and I will quote his statement:

> While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action,

and I am glad our 5-year wait falls within the realm of immediate remedial action.

I think that the Congress must try to determine what other action the Government can constitutionally take to deal with this problem, and it is a difficult issue.

The free speech clause of the first amendment sets forth one of our most precious liberties, and we should proceed very warily indeed. I have no ready prescription, but I do have legislation in preparation that I believe will help.

The stated purpose of that bill—and it is a network bill—is to limit the control of the three networks over television programing and to promote competition in the production, sale, and distribution of programs for television broadcasting.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would ask unanimous consent that my full statement, both my opening remarks and an outline of that network bill be included in the record at this point.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Without objection—I hear none. It will be included.

[Mr. Murphy's prepared statement with attachments and the outline of the network bill follow]

Statement of the Honorable John M. Murphy, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York

Television violence has been a staple of television entertainment programming for more than twenty years. And for an equal number of years, American parents and professional people who are concerned with the healthy growth and with the education of children and adolescents have been objecting to this violence.

The most common objection to televised violence is that there is simply too much of it, too often. It is obvious that the networks continue to rely heavily on subjects and themes that permit the story line to dwell at length on acts and threats of injury and harm. On some evenings the home screen is virtually saturated with violence, and it is that general and overpowering presence which arouses much of the concern.

Sometimes, of course, television outdoes even itself. There are isolated acts of cruelty, brutality, and mayhem that are presented so graphically that the viewer is literally shocked. And the intelligent viewer has reacted with understandable alarm. Sometimes, and with equal justification, the objection is to the frequent unreality of televised violence. If, in some programs, violence is presented too graphically and always with brutal consequences, in others violence seems to have negligible consequences. The hero in a program engages in a brutal fist fight for several minutes, and then picks himself up and dusts himself off as though nothing had happened. In real life, of course, his injuries would not be so light—a fact of which children are ofttimes unaware until they injure themselves or a friend.

But for most critics of televised violence, perhaps the most damning feature of television is that is has subtly glorified violence. It is often the hero or a character for whom the audience has considerable empathy who engages in violence, and too often a *program makes violence seem the only possible solution to a serious problem*. Instead of teaching youngsters to handle problem solving situations by using their intellect, it incessantly shows them how to punch, kick or shoot their way out of problem situations.

These objections were voiced as early as the mid-1950's when the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency began its study of the effects of televised violence on young people. Those objections are still heard today.

And what have been the effects of this depiction of violence?

In the early years of television, there was little evidence, only opinions. But over the past ten years, we have learned much about the relationship between televised violence and aggressive behavior in children. The evidence is now clear: There is a very definite causal relationship. That was the conclusion of the most exhaustive and prestigious study of the subject that has thus far been made—the study conducted by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on television and social behavior, which issued its final report in 1972. The study was based on the results of 23 research projects and carefully concluded that there is such a causal relationship. When the Surgeon General, Dr. Jesse Steinfeld, appeared before the Communications Subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee, he summed up the significance of the report:

"While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and *immediate* remedial action."

Over the past 15 months, the leadership of the medical profession has expressed growing concern over the harmful effects of televised violence on children.

In the December, 1975, issue of *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. Michael B. Rothenberg, a Seattle psychiatrist, reviewed the existing literature on the effects of television violence. He cited no less than 50 studies involving as many as 10,000 children and adolescents *from every conceivable background—not just delinquents or ghetto children*. All showed "that violence viewing produces increased aggressive behavior in the young." Dr. Rothenberg concluded that: "The time is long past due for a major, organized cry of protest from the medical profession in relation to what, in political terms, is a national scandal."

The same conclusion was reached by Professor Anne R. Somers of the New Jersey Rutgers Medical School. On April 8, 1976, in the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine*, she also reviewed the work that has been done to assess the effects of television violence on children and adolescents. Her advice to the medical profession was as unhesitating as Dr. Rothenberg's. "The essential first step is general professional acceptance of the role of television violence as a *risk factor* threatening the health and welfare of American children and youth, and an official organizational commitment to remedial action." Last summer, the American Medical Association considered the problem of televised violence. By resolution, the AMA said that "TV's massive daily diet of symbolic violence and crime is an environmental hazard," and "a *risk factor* threatening the health and welfare of young Americans."

Despite the accumulation of definitive evidence that there is a causal relationship between televised violence and resultant aggressive behavior, such violence in all its forms is still very much with us. An evening in front of a television set most decidedly tells us that.

By all accounts, NBC is the current leader in violence. But the single most tasteless excursion into violence was undoubtedly, CBS' recent program "Evel Knievel's Death Defiers." The Washington Post characterized it as "the worst TV program ever."

I would insert in the hearing record at this point my letter to CBS regarding that program. In essence, the program consisted of nothing more than half a dozen madmen intent on public self destruction by such diverse means as explosives, high-dives, mid-air trapeze stunts and the like, climaxed by the spectre of Mr. Knievel launching his motorcycle over a large tank of sharks. The concept of the entire program, while basically ludicrous to any rational person, has some frightening aspects with regard to the possible effect it might have on the lives—or deaths—of many small children who have been taught to believe that television represents what real life is all about. I have brought before this committee on previous occasions the documentation of many tragic cases of children maimed and paralyzed for life in their attempts to emulate Evel Knievel's ridiculous stunts which they witnessed on their home TV screen in minute detail and endless instant replays.

I hasten to point out that CBS, unlike other networks which have defended their right to broadcast such obscenity without giving any credence to the arguments against it, has specifically admitted that their broadcast of this program was "an error," and that such programs would be eliminated in the future. CBS is to be commended for its attitude of responsibility [illegible] standings, and its recognition of a most urgent problem in modern broadcasting: That of the use of "hype" in the frantic search for higher ratings.

As the networks pile violent act on violent act, they stick their heads in the sand and ignore the scientific evidence, or interpret it away. Fifteen years ago, the networks' position was that there was "no proof" that televised violence was in any way a causal factor behind the rising level of violence in American society. And this was their justification for not calling a halt to it. Now the proof is in, and the networks have taken a new tack. They say that violence in America has multiple causes, and that to singularly blame the television industry is to take the problem out of its proper context. This was the theme of a speech given last October to the Association of National Advertisers by Herbert Schlosser, NBC's president. He said that the issue of televised violence "has been clouded by misunderstanding and misinformation and * * * distorted by a tendency to make television an easy scapegoat for persistent and historic social ills." And then he added, "Many serious studies have demonstrated that violence springs from a complex of social and economic conditions that include poverty, urban decay, drugs, the breakdown of the family, unemployment and racial discrimination." And a few months later, NBC devoted three hours of prime time to a documentary—"Violence in America"—to illustrate Mr. Schlosser's theme.

It is not that I disagree with Mr. Schlosser's statement—as far as it goes. But I do not think it goes far enough. Televised violence is a major contributing factor to violence in America, and the television industry cannot avoid its share of the blame by pointing to other factors. I think Mr. Schlosser was disingenuous in his speech and that he and all the other high network executives have shirked their responsibility to the American people to reduce drastically the level of violence in their entertainment programming.

I would prefer that the networks act voluntarily.

But if they will not, then I think the Congress must try to determine what other action the Government can constitutionally take to deal with the problem. This is a difficult issue. The free speech clause of the first amendment sets forth one of our most precious liberties, and we should proceed very warily indeed. I have no ready prescription but I do have legislation in preparation that I believe will help.

The networks, of course, take the view that the first amendment bars any and all governmental action and this is also the position of Chairman Richard Wiley of the Federal Communications Commission. I think neither the networks nor the Chairman of the FCC can avoid the problem of televised violence so glibly. Society has an obligation to protect its children and adolescents from what the AMA has called "an environmental hazard" and "a risk factor threatening the health and welfare of young Americans," and this obligation is entitled to great weight on the constitutional scale.

There have been prior instances in American constitutional law in which freedom of speech has been balanced against other vital social considerations; and because there is a possibility of serious harm to young people, this may be yet another. I recognize that it may be extremely difficult to find the point of constitutional balance, but I do not think we can shirk the task of searching for constitutional ways of dealing with the problem of televised violence. Our future as a civilized society may well be at stake.

Congress of the United States,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1977.

Mr. Barry Frank,
*President,
CBS Sports,
New York, N.Y.*

Dear Mr. Frank: Last night's display of incredibly pointless violence on "Evel Knievel's Death Defiers" defies any attempt at rational explanation. The circus atmosphere surrounding the presentation of a half-dozen madmen intent or self-destruction, violated every imaginable tenet of responsible broadcasting and simple good taste. It is almost beyond comprehension that a network such as CBS could, in one brief program, gather so much insanity and stupidity into a single presentation.

The incidents at issue are almost too many to list, and the manner of their presentation by CBS flaunts your mandate, by the Communications Act of 1934, to program "in the public interest." What possible benefit could ever be derived by any impressionable child—or adult—by watching:

Neville Blanchard [illegible] himself up with four sticks of dynamite ("when two would destroy a car" according to the commentator). He admits to a 50% loss of hearing since doing this act, and we are treated to an instant replay of his lunacy, touching off the dynamite with a battery while dressed only in a tuxedo.

"Jumpin'" Joe Gerlach's "sponge plunge" from an 84-foot high platform into a 3-foot thick foam pad, after intentionally abandoning his only safety gear, a helmet, and again, an instant replay in which "I almost missed * * * that was a close one * * *".

David Merrifield's helicopter trapeze act, in which he "does what a man has to do; right or wrong, foolish or not, he just has to do it. It's just like he was taking a walk in the park * * *" (per Mr. St. John).

Ron Phillips' motorcycle jump, after which, although he has "sprained (his) back, he's alright—he's walking."

Karl Wallenda, the aging "tightwire artist" [illegible], who admits his age of 71 has brought him poor eyesight and reflexes to [illegible] his chances of success.

And, of course, Evel Knievel, whose "a disservice is not to be present due to injuries sustained during rehearsal * * * which we view no less than three times through the magic of television.

While the above litany of lunacy is in itself tribute to the network's surrender to an [illegible], the additional material used to bridge the segments perhaps surpassed the main program content in poor taste.

Mr. St. John's constant remarks that "the suspense is killing me."

Repeated commentary on how dangerous each event was, and how limited each man's chance of success was.

Occasional remarks as to the extent of Knievel's injuries, and how, "because he's the kind of guy he is, he is on his way here." (He never made it.)

The introduction of Joe [illegible], a friend of Evel's who "has been . . . all up since August from a bad crash."

The film clips of every one of Knievel's crashes, including Los Angeles, Cedar Rapids, San Francisco, Wisconsin, Snake River, and the Caesar's Palace crash complete with close ups of his body being mangled.

The incredible continuity: "we'll have a report on Evel's injuries right after this commercial * * *"

And the only "report," only mention during the 90 minute show concerning safety was as follows: "Speaking of his interest in safety, Evel was very concerned about the sharks." Following which we were treated to a clip of the care and feeding of salt water sharks.

I also find it odd that, although the CBS network promoted the show for weeks, Evel never appeared, except from a hospital bed. His "rehearsal attempt" at the jump during which he fractured his [illegible] and collarbone, and injured his back, was fortuitously videotaped, however, from four different camera angles. But your audience was "cheated" out of the sight of the jump being performed over sharks . . . the tanks appeared empty during rehearsal.

While I'm certain CBS could never be cited for false advertising regarding Mr. Knievel's non-appearance, I am equally certain that this program, and others like it, represent the very bottom of the pit of responsibility. I have taken the American Broadcasting Company to task in the past for its broadcasts of Mr. Knievel's jumps, which were immediately followed by an extremely well-documented rash of maimed, torn and broken children's bodies who were simply emulating the cult hero brought into their living rooms by an irresponsible broadcaster. I emphasize that these cases are directly attributable to these children's propensity to imitate what they had seen on television: a near lunatic jumping cars, buses, or rivers on his motorcycle.

I am not so naive as to believe that this single letter of protest will remove forever from your network the irresponsible and excessively violent sort of programming mentioned. I am, however, assured that public opinion will allow

[illegible]

Sincerely,

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Sincerely,

[illegible]
President

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Mr. [illegible] Mr. Widnall?

Mr. Widnall. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. As one who requested that this hearing be held, I would like to say a few words before we begin.

I have been recently contacted by representatives of the [illegible] and [illegible] VA and the FHA, and consequently, I am well aware that there is considerable apprehension on the part of some people about the purposes of this hearing.

In [illegible] I would like to state briefly what I regard as the goals of today's session. We begin with this hearing is not intended, as far as I am concerned, to be a rehash of the family viewing suit. A lot of people in this room have been through that court. Furthermore, I see no reason to review events which took place 3 years ago.

I would like to say one thing about that case. I don't think it is fair for those of us in Congress to absolve ourselves entirely of blame for the way Mr. Wiley handled that matter.

While I personally disapprove of closed door meetings, it is easy to understand why Mr. Wiley acted as he did. Congress, after all, was saying to the FCC: "You take some action or we will cut your budget."

So, as one who has locked horns with Mr. Wiley on this issue before, I would like to say that, if the Government has violated the Constitution, then those of us who have exhorted the FCC to do something about TV violence should not let the FCC alone incur Judge Ferguson's wrath.

Let me say further that I believe the FCC has the responsibility to make sure broadcast licensees fulfill their obligations under the Communications Act to serve their local communities, and the exercise of this responsibility need not be inconsistent with section 326 or with the first amendment.

Violence on TV is an issue that has been with us for the past decade and is not going to go away until broadcasters in concert with writers and producers do something to improve the programing fare.

To the credit of organizations like the National Citizens Committee on Broadcasting, the PTA, and the AMA, the American people are beginning to raise their voices in protest to violence-packed TV programs.

A recent Gallup survey showed that a large majority of parents, 71 percent, favor the proposal that all television programs with violence be shown only after 10 o'clock at night.

Why do they feel this way? Because they believe that there is a relationship between television violence and crime and antisocial behavior.

Major advertisers have begun withdrawing their sponsorship of violent programs. J. Walter Thompson, the Nation's leading advertising agency, is reported as recommending that other companies do the same. *Newsweek* magazine recently ran a cover story on what TV does to kids.

Why then anyone should wonder why the House Subcommittee on Communications should choose to hold a hearing on TV violence at this time is, therefore, difficult for me to understand.

Five years have elapsed since the Surgeon General reported to the Nation that "the causal relationship between television violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action." And study upon study has reinforced this conclusion.

Thus, we are beyond the point of debating whether constant exposure to TV violence adversely affects children. Having progressed this far, it seems to me that the questions which confront us are very clear. What are the networks doing to reduce the level of violence on TV? What can the FCC do, short of regulating programing? What is the creative community doing to guarantee that tomorrow's programing will be of better quality than that which has been produced in the past? And, finally, what can parents do to protect their children against over-exposure to TV violence?

These are some of the questions which must be answered and why I was one requesting the chairman to hold this meeting. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you, Mr. Wirth.

Does any member wish to be heard at this time? The gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. Gore.

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to say briefly that I am here to learn today as a new member of this subcommittee. This is an extremely difficult problem facing the United States of America.

The first amendment is the most important in the Bill of Rights because it is the means of guaranteeing all of the other rights secured to American citizens in the Bill of Rights and in the rest of the Constitution.

At the same time, the scarcity of broadcasting stations makes it imperative that these stations be given to licensees according to a public interest standard. In the past, this has been largely misunderstood, I think, by the courts. They relied on a fairness doctrine, rather than a public interest standard.

I think that, as we look at the Communications Act this year and next year and perhaps for 2 years in the future, I think the background of these hearings may have an impact on our examination of how this act is working.

I believe that we have to avoid at all costs the Government determining what goes on television and what does not go on television. At the same time, since the causal relationship has been established between televised violence and real violence in our society, we have to find ways to protect our society against occurrence of violence which may be attributable to televised violence.

So I am looking for answers today to these very, very complicated questions. There is a tension in this area between the first amendment and section 326 and section 309 of the Communications Act. If the act as it is presently written is not adequate to deal with these questions, then I think that the concerns which are brought up by witnesses during these hearings and which are expressed by members of the subcommittee should be taken into account when we look at the rewrite of the act.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you. The gentleman from California, Mr. Waxman.

Mr. Waxman. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, this is the third round of hearings the subcommittee has conducted over the past 8 months on the issue of televised violence in family viewing. They come at a time of greatly increasing concern over the level of televised violence in America.

Stated simply, the amount of violence on television is the biggest issue facing the broadcasting industry today.

We have come full circle. These hearings are directly part of a process which began more than 2 years ago when another congressional committee ordered the FCC to do something about violence on television.

At that time, the Chairman of the FCC took that admonition too seriously. He began a series of informal, closed door meetings with the network representatives, out of which emerged the family viewing concept.

Much has been learned from that experience. As the district court in Los Angeles has determined, the kind of action that the committee demanded and the activities which the FCC initiated placed the Government in the position of regulating the content of television programing in direct contravention of the first amendment.

There must be a healthy realization of the restraints we are forced to impose upon ourselves in dealing with such issues. The notion of the Government acting illegally, even with the best intentions, cannot be tolerated. But even the policy which emerged, the so-called family viewing concept, was seriously flawed in and of itself.

Rather than solve the problems of violence on television, the family viewing hour was merely a smoke screen behind which the level of televised violence steadily increased, while the public was lulled into the belief that some action was being taken in its interest.

These hearings by the subcommittee serve a compelling public need. The American people are actively seeking ways to make the industry more aware that it is disturbed about the level of televised violence. These hearings bring the public into the decisionmaking process.

The family viewing concept was developed behind closed doors. The public and the many experts in telecommunications had no opportunity to be heard. The formal rulemaking and hearings process on these issues was dispensed with. There was no opportunity for different ideas to be expressed in the hopes that alternative viewpoints would stimulate the industry in its thinking.

In August, this subcommittee heard 2 days of testimony from the Hollywood production community. We were painted a schizophrenic picture of demand by the networks, on the one hand, for "action programing" and resistance by them, on the other, by their growing concern about the public reaction to the level of violence on television.

But, indeed, it is the networks who exercise ultimate control over product. In the words of one producer, the networks "tell us rigidly and explicitly what we can and cannot write, what they will buy and schedule and show and what they will not".

Clearly, the networks have assumed and must bear the burden of responsibility for what we see on the screen every night, and I am pleased that we are going to hear from representatives of networks at this hearing. They were conspicuous by their absence at our previous two hearings, in urging before us that the pending court action would be in some way jeopardized by their testifying.

I stated in Los Angeles that I thought it was essential for us to hear from the networks so that we can get a full and rounded picture of the issue, televised violence, and I am pleased that we are going to hear from them and have the opportunity to ask some questions of them.

One dramatic thing we learned in Los Angeles was the poor level of communication between the network executives on the east coast and the creative community on the west coast, as to what each expected of the other and how they could work well together in implementing the family viewing, and it is ironic indeed that this occurred among those who are supposed experts in communications.

Family viewing, we learned, completely distorted the notions of what was and was not acceptable on television. One producer was informed by a network censor that he was no longer free to exercise his best judgment, but was instead trying to figure out what a New York executive would find acceptable to a family in Peoria.

We were told that family viewing was a standard which defied definition, that it was a policy whose violation would be known only when it was seen, a policy that was geared not to offend the most uptight parent we can imagine watching with his family.

The insidious result was self-censorship, creators pulling back from ideas, from exploring sensitive material, in order to avoid trouble. In the words of Norman Lear, there grew "a cancer on the creative process that had no definition," and, therefore, there was no way to attack it.

Many share the belief that program diversity holds the solution, but that the current structure of the industry precludes the development of alternative programing. Does the network monopoly over broadcasting mean that the scramble for the highest ratings will produce the lowest common denominator of entertainment? Does the network monopoly over programing mean that the writers, producers, directors, and actors will be unable to produce programing which truly meets the diverse needs of a diverse people?

These are some of the considerations I wish to raise, Mr. Chairman, as we begin these hearings.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Thank you, Mr. Waxman. Mr. Luken, the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. LUKEN. Mr. Chairman, I am here as a new member to listen. I have not prepared a statement as to my position or even as to the issues to be raised, except that, as a new member, I can echo what has been said, with full confidence that the public has intense interest in all of these matters and the public is asking for action on various phases.

There are quite a number of aspects to the subject of TV violence. I might mention one, Mr. Chairman. In Cincinnati, we had a kidnapper who held a hostage for 10 hours in search of his long-lost son, and he named the television program Roots as his motivation.

I am sure there will be a number of instances and a variety of issues for us to look into. I would like to say that the public is intensely interested and is asking for action from this Congress.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Russo?

Mr. RUSSO. Mr. Chairman, I hadn't planned on saying too much this morning, and it seems I have a propensity to speak whenever the TV cameras are around, but I will try to be brief.

I think a lot of things have been raised about the public interest and the public right, and everybody is up in arms. There probably is too much violence and sex on television, but I would like to make one point that hasn't been raised this morning by all the other members of this committee.

We probably should attempt to reduce the amount of violence and sex, but we should not minimize the role of parental guidance, parental discipline, and parental control. One of the easy things for people to do is to criticize Congress or others like the broadcasters, the programers, and everybody else in the industry, for a serious problem.

There are some violent movies on TV and I just don't allow my son to watch them. I think this is probably one of the major problems we face, that we have too little parental guidance and control in the home.

And, if nothing else comes out of this hearing, maybe the parents will do a little bit better job in supervising the type of programs their children see. Thank you.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. The ranking minority member of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Frey.

Mr. **Frey**. I will just follow that by saying that it doesn't work [indicating the microphone] and just yield back my time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. It is working.

Mr. **Frey**. That is a shame.

I am certainly interested in these hearings. I have been involved in this problem for some time. Some years ago I testified about it. I had thought that we were making some progress, especially in view of the fact that people were able to get together and talk and work toward a problem.

My own personal belief is that this is a much better answer than any kind of governmental regulation, but, of course, we have got a case on appeal right now. These hearings should, I think, highlight a lot of the problems, so we look with interest to the testimony.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Thank you, Mr. Frey.

With that, we will welcome our first public witness, Dr. George Gerbner, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.

Under Dr. Gerbner's guidance, the Annenberg School has formalized the measures of television violence. This week, the school was out with a new profile, or index, to the trends in violence on the air. We shall be very pleased to hear from Dr. Gerbner as to the findings of that study.

Good morning.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE GERBNER, PH. D., DEAN, THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. **Gerbner**. Good morning. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for your kind invitation to testify before this committee. I am George Gerbner, professor of communications and dean of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.

I appear here as an individual communications researcher engaged in scientific study of media content and effects and not as a representative of our school or university or any other organization.

I am pleased to submit to you the findings of our "Violence Profile No. 8" on behalf of my coprincipal investigator Prof. Larry Gross and our associates Michael Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox, and Dr. Nancy Signorielli.

I would like to note the highlights of our "Violence Profile No. 8," which is a study of trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality. The full report itself has been distributed to you. A copy of my testimony has been submitted to you, so I will merely note some of the highlights. I will not read it all.

Let me call attention to a 2-page addendum to the testimony that I have given several copies of which to Mr. Shooshan with the request to distribute it to you. I have a few more copies left. If anyone wishes to get more copies, I will be pleased to try to provide it.

Television violence increased sharply in all categories, including family viewing and children's program time, on all three networks.

The increase resulted in the highest violence index on record. The only score that comes close to the current record of 203.6 was the score of 198.7 in 1967, the year of turmoil that led to the establishment of the Eisenhower Violence Commission and our "TV Violence Index."

The other components of the violence profile confirmed previous findings of the unequal structure of power and risk in the world of television drama and showed children's particular vulnerability to the effects of television.

Heavy viewers revealed a significantly higher sense of personal risk, of law enforcement, and of mistrust and suspicion than did the light viewers in the same demographic group, exposed to the same real risks of life. The results also showed that TV's independent contributions to the cultivation of these conceptions of what we call a "mean world" and other aspects of social reality are not significantly altered when you are controlling for sex, age, education, income, newspaper reading, and church attendance.

The latest index is based on the analysis of a fall 1976 sample of prime time, late evening, and weekend daytime television dramatic programing. The analysis focused on clear-cut and unambiguous physical expressions of overt violence in any context.

Available evidence suggests that violence in a humorous or fantasy context may be at least as effective a demonstration of some of its social lessons as so-called "realistic" or "serious" violence.

Lest there be some contention over that score, Mr. Chairman, I would like to call your attention to a recent piece of evidence pointing in the same direction. A very interesting little booklet recently distributed by the Columbia Broadcasting System about some of their very excellent children's programs, including some cartoons, the title of which, interestingly enough, is "Learning While They Laugh," shows, I think, to anyone's satisfaction very clearly that indeed the humorous context is a very effective way in which to achieve learning. Therefore, it would not be logical to assume that children can learn while they laugh from one type of program, but not from another, which was one of the reasons why in our definition we applied our measures of violence to all kinds of programing, cartoon, humorous, serious, without presuming that some types of formats are more effective than others.

The percentage of characters involved in violence and killing rose to the second highest on record, and the indicator of violent action in programs, which is the percentage of programs with any violence, rose to the highest point on record.

That means that three-fourths of all characters were involved in some kind of violence—these are dramatic characters of which we have now analyzed many thousands—compared to two-thirds in 1975.

And, 9 out of every 10 programs sampled contained some violence, compared to the 8 out of 10 in 1975. The saturation of programs with violence, indicated by the rate of violent episodes, rose to record heights of 6.2 per play and 9.5 per hour, compared to 5.6 and 8.1 in 1975, respectively. Only killing declined slightly, but the cumulative effect of the increases resulted in the unprecedented jump in the composite "Violence Index."

Now, interestingly, the increase in violence cuts across program categories and times, as well as networks. The context of dramatic programing did not change significantly, eliminating the possibility that the upsurge of violence was due to a sudden jump in the number of action programs or late evening, cartoon, new programs, or any particularly unusual programing development in our sample, because it cut across.

Copies of the testimony that you have contain the exact network-by-network figures, which I am not going to read now. Let me only say that the violence index ranks CBS least and NBC most violent overall; CBS least and ABC most violent in family viewing time; CBS least and NBC most violent in late evening; and ABC least and NBC most violent in weekend children's program time.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Frey?

Mr. FREY. I just wondered if you also have in your testimony how that relates to the ratings in those breakdown periods?

Mr. GERBNER. We have investigated the association of our violence index with Nielsen ratings figures and have found no relationship. In other words, to our satisfaction, the violence in the programs is not an element of popularity. Typically, the most violent programs are not the most popular programs and they are rarely even found among the top 10. There is simply no relationship. There may be a relationship to the economy of producing these programs rather than to the popularity.

The other components of the violence index which I consider and our team considers equally important, even though they usually don't get as much attention as this kind of rating, deal with the structure of power demonstrated in television violence and with conceptions of social reality that television viewing cultivates in the minds of viewers.

Let me just say a word about the structure of power and then a word about the effects of exposure to violence. The most elementary and telling structure involved in a violent scenario is that of violents and victims.

The ratios of those who inflict violence and those who suffer violence provide a calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama and indeed in the real world.

These are what we call risk ratios. They are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these figures by the less numerous within each group, so that a plus sign indicates that there are more violents or killers than victims or killed, and a minus sign, which is more typical, indicates that there are more victims, including killed, than there are violents or killers.

Now, the overall violence/victim ratio since 1969 is −1.21., which means that for every violent, everyone who perpetrates an act of violence in the world of television, there were 1.21 victims. In other words, there are usually more victims than there are perpetrators.

However, the rate of victimization is unequally distributed. While the overall victimization ratio for men is −1.2, for women it is higher. It is −1.3. Even more striking are the differential risks of fatal victimization. There were nearly two male killers for every male killed, but, for every female killer, one woman was killed. The ratio there is 1 to 1 compared to 1 to 2 among the men.

Particularly high risks of victimization—that is, relative to the ability to inflict violence—are borne by children, by women, particularly old women, unmarried women, lower class women, by nonwhites and particularly nonwhite women. So, in a sense, this reproduces a kind of inequitous social hierarchy with whatever lessons this may hold for viewers.

Let me now say a word about the viewers. The patterns of viewer responses in our surveys to questions about social reality by different groups of children and adults confirmed previous findings that the cultivation of fear and mistrust may be among the most pervasive effects of heavy exposure to the violent and risky world of television drama.

Several of you gentlemen pointed out the abundant evidence of the Surgeon General's report about the causal relationship between exposure to violence and certain types of violent behavior. While the weight of evidence on that score is impressive and is convincing, nevertheless it still affects only a small minority of our population.

The effects of fear, of mistrust, of conceiving of a very mean world in which one has to behave in a certain particular way affect all of us, so we are concentrating more on that side of the coin in our research.

In giving what we call the "television answer" to questions about violence, about law enforcement, about trust, children tended to score higher and learn more from television than adults. Heavy viewers in all sex, age, education, income, reading, and church attendance groups were more imbued with the television view of a "mean world" than were light viewers in the same groups.

I am attaching for your perusal the full report with all the methodological explanations and the detailed tabulations. Additional copies are available from our office for those who wish to have them.

I would now like to call attention, Mr. Chairman, to two additional related matters that I would like to add to this testimony.

The first has to do with our methodology described in the full report. As you will see from there, it is the most exacting and reliable methodology in any social science research of this type.

In addition, however, we have conducted and supported several tests of definition and of sampling. The most recent independent test of definitions was conducted by the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting under a grant from the American Medical Association. The NCCB reported that it had—and I quote: "conducted two parallel studies, one based on the Gerbner definition and one on industry-suggested definition. The result showed no significant divergence in ratings, thus confirming that the use of the Gerbner definition is sound, accurate, and fair when measured against other standards."

Two sampling studies of our own have been concluded and a third is still under way. The first two showed that adding a spring sample did not significantly change the results we derived from the fall sample. We are now engaged in an empirical test of the variability of the results when employing a much more extended sample, done over many weeks of programing. This experiment has been concluded and will be reported in about 3 weeks. There is, however, no reason to assume that the results of the present study were affected by some exceptional characteristics of the sample week, inasmuch as the increases were across the board, as I have mentioned, in most program categories and on all networks, and it is most unlikely that in all program categories and on all networks there would have been something that unusual in our particular sample.

The second matter that I would like to call attention to, Mr. Chairman, relates to the identification of the week sampled and, thus, of the exact episodes of the programs included in the sample.

It has been our policy not to single out individual program episodes nor to provide individual program ratings. This is based on the fact that, even though we have a representative sample of the aggregate of a week's programing, we do not have a representative sample of each individual program.

Therefore, data on one specific program can be as misleading as data on a single person in a national survey.

Now, however, we have received a request to identify the sample week, and the request comes from our colleagues and friends in the CBS research department, acting on behalf of the industry.

We assume that the request is made in the spirit of research collaboration to continue the comparative examination of our respective definitions, as we and our colleagues in the industry have undertaken from time to time. And, in that spirit, I would like to respond positively and ask that your good offices, Mr. Chairman, expedite our collaboration.

We propose that we pool our research data and those gathered or commissioned by network researchers pertaining to the analysis of network television program content for the purpose of comparative examination by qualified researchers on both sides.

I would like to suggest that the custodian of these data should be the agency recently authorized by the U.S. Congress to maintain a national television archive. If you wonder where that authorization is located, you will find it in the new Copyright Act toward the very end, a little known, but I think, in the long run, very important section of the act. The section does authorize the Library of Congress to do just that.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, and with the consent of network representatives who will soon testify here, we shall proceed to contact the Librarian of Congress, Dr. Daniel Boorstin, to make the necessary arrangements for establishing such a television data archive in the national interest.

This concludes my testimony, Mr. Chairman. If there are any questions, I will be glad to try to answer them.

[Testimony resumes on p. 131.]

[Mr. Gerbner's prepared statement and Violence Profile No. 8 follow:]

STATEMENT OF GEORGE GERBNER

Mr. Chairman: Thank you for your kind invitation to testify before this committee. I am George Gerbner, Professor of Communications and Dean of The Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. I appear here as an individual communications researcher engaged in the scientific study of media content and effects, not as a representative of our School, the University, or any other organization. I am pleased to submit to you the findings of our Violence Profile No. 8 on behalf of coprincipal investigator Professor Larry Gross and our associates Michael F. Eleey, Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox and Dr. Nancy Signorielli.

These are the highlights of our Violence Profile No. 8, a study of trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality. (The technical and scientific details of methodology and the detailed tabulations of data are included in the full report which I am also attaching.)

Television violence increased sharply in all categories including "family viewing" and children's program time on all three networks.

The increase resulted in the highest Violence Index on record. The only score that comes close to the current record of 202.6 was the score of 198.7 in 1967, the year of turmoil that led to the establishment of the Eisenhower Violence Commission and our TV Violence Index.

Other components of the TV Violence Profile confirmed previous findings of the unequal structure of power and risk in the world of television drama, and showed children's particular vulnerability to the effects of television. Heavy viewers revealed a significantly higher sense of personal risk, of law-enforcement, and of mistrust and suspicion than did light viewers in the same demographic groups, exposed to the same real risks of life. The results also showed that TV's independent contributions to the cultivation of these conceptions of a "mean world" and other aspects of social reality are not significantly altered by sex, age, education, income, newspaper reading, and church attendance.

The Violence Profile is a cluster of indices sensitive to different aspects of the nature and effects as well as the amount of violence on television. The Violence Index itself is a composite of measures of the prevalence, rate, and characterizations involved in violent action.

The latest Violence Index was based on the analysis of a fall 1976 sample of prime time, late evening, and weekend daytime network television dramatic programming. The analysis focused on clear-cut and unambiguous physical expressions of overt violence in any context. (Available evidence suggests that violence in a humorous or fantasy context may be at least as effective a demonstration of some of its social lessons as "realistic" or "serious" violence.)

Figure 1 shows that the percentage of characters involved in violence and killing (C0) rose to the second highest, and the indicator of violent action to programs (PV) to the highest point on record. Three-fourths (74.9 percent) of all characters were involved in some violence compared to 65 percent in 1975. Nine out of every ten programs sampled (89.1 percent) contained some violence, compared to 78.4 percent in 1975; the saturation of programs with violence, indicated by the rate of violent episodes, rose to record heights of 6.2 per play and 9.5 per hour, compared to 5.0 and 8.1, respectively. Only killing declined slightly. The cumulative effect of the increases resulted in the unprecedented jump in the composite Violence Index.

The increase in violence cuts across program categories and times. The context of dramatic programming did not change significantly, eliminating the possibility that the upsurge of violence was due to a sudden jump in the number of action programs, or late evening, cartoon, new, or "serious" programs in the sample.

All three networks increased their overall mix of violence but stayed in the same violence rank order as in 1975 with NBC the highest, ABC second, and CBS third. A network-by-network comparison shows the following rounded Violence Index scores for 1975 and 1976:

	ABC		CBS		NBC	
	1975	1976	1975	1976	1975	1976
Overall index	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
"Family viewing" time (8 to 9 p.m. e.s.t.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Late evening (9 to 11 p.m. e.s.t.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Weekend (children's) hours (Saturday and Sunday daytime)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The 10-year results are shown in Figures 2 through 7. Figure 2 gives the Violence Index for different hours of programming for all networks. Figure 3 presents the Violence Index for different hours of programming by each network. Figures 4 through 7 provide direct network comparisons separately for the overall Index, "family viewing time," late evening, and weekend (children's) programs.

As in 1975, NBC is the "leader" in overall violence and in both children's hours and late evening violence. ABC is in the middle in overall violence, due to a decline in late evening violence (in which it had been the highest before), and despite increases in "family viewing" and children's hours. CBS, leader in the "family viewing" concept, lifted its last-season lid on "family viewing time" violence, but still held the lowest "family viewing time," late evening, and overall violence scores. Children's hour violence on CBS rose to above that of ABC, but below that of NBC.

The Violence Index ranks CBS least and NBC most violent overall, CBS least and ABC most violent in "family viewing time," CBS least and NBC most violent in late evening, and ABC least and NBC most violent in weekend children's program time.

Other components of the Violence Profile deal with the structure of power demonstrated in TV violence and with conceptions of social reality that television viewing cultivates in the minds of viewers.

The most elementary—and telling—social structure involved in a violence scenario is that of violents and victims. The ratios of those who inflict and those who suffer violence provide a calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama. These Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the less numerous within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more violents or killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that there are more victims or killed than violents or killers.

The overall Violence-Victim Ratio since 1969 (when this measure was developed) is –1.21, meaning that for every violent there were 1.21 victims. However, while the overall victimization ratio for men is –1.20, for women it is higher: –1.32. Even more striking are the differential risks of fatal victimization. There were nearly two male killers for every male killed (Killer-Killed Ratio of +1.90). However, for every female killer, one woman was killed (K-K Ratio of 1.00).

Particularly high risks of victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence) are borne by children (−1.75), old women (−3.00), unmarried women (−2.30), lower class women (−2.25), nonwhites (−1.60) and particularly nonwhite women (−2.50). "Good" characters were more likely to be victimized (−1.20) than "bad" characters (−1.02), although the latter were more often fatal victims. "Good" women were even more likely victims (−1.67) than "good" men (−1.16). But "bad" women had the most favorable (and only positive) Violent-Victim Ratio of all groups (+1.33). Committing violence seems more likely to mark a female than a male character "bad" in the world of television.

Exceptionally high relative risks of fatal victimization are borne by the old and the poor, particularly among women.

The patterns of viewer responses to questions about social reality given to different groups of children and adults confirm previous findings that the cultivation of fear and mistrust may be among the most pervasive effects of heavy exposure to the violent and risky world of television drama. In giving the "television answer" to questions about violence, law enforcement, and trust, children tended to score higher and learn more from television than adults. Heavy viewers in all sex, age, education, income, reading, and church attendance groups were more imbued with the television view of a "mean world" than were light viewers in the same groups.

This concludes my testimony. I am also attaching for your information the full report with methodological explanations and the detailed tabulations. Copies are also available from our office.

VIOLENCE PROFILE NO. 8

Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality 1967-1976

by

George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Michael F. Eleey
Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Suzanne Jeffries-Fox,
and Nancy Signorielli

The Annenberg School of Communications
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April 1977

Copies of this report (including all tables) are available for $15.00 each (checks to be made payable to the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania)

This research is a part of the Cultural Indicators study of trends in television content and effects conducted under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health, George Gerbner and Larry Gross principal investigators.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF TV VIOLENCE PROFILE NO. 8

(March 1977)

Television violence increased sharply in all categories including "family viewing" and children's program time on all three networks.

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The Violence Profile is a cluster of indices sensitive to different aspects of the nature and effects as well as the amount of violence on television. The Violence Index itself is a composite of measures of the prevalence, rate, and characterizations involved in violent action.

The latest Violence Index was based on the analysis of a fall 1976 sample of prime time, late evening, and weekend daytime network television dramatic programming. The analysis focused on clear-cut and unambiguous physical expressions of overt violence in any context. (Available evidence suggests that violence in a humorous or fantasy context may be at least as effective a demonstration of some of its social lessons as "realistic" or "serious" violence.)

Figure 1 shows that the percentage of characters involved in violence and killing (CS) rose to the second highest, and the indicator of violent action in programs (PS) to the highest point on record. Three-fourths (74.9 percent) of all characters were involved in some violence compared to 65 percent in 1975. Nine out of every ten programs sampled (89.1 percent) contained some violence, compared to 78.4 percent in 1975. The saturation of programs with violence, indicated by the rate of violent episodes, rose to record heights of 6.2 per play and 9.5 per hour, compared to 5.6 and 8.1, respectively. Only killing declined slightly. The cumulative effect of the increases resulted in the unprecedented jump in the composite Violence Index. (The detailed figures and the precise composition of the Violence Index can be seen on Table 1 of the full report.)

The increase in violence cuts across program categories and times. The content of dramatic programming did not change significantly, eliminating the possibility that the upsurge of violence was due to a sudden jump in the number of action programs, or late evening, cartoon, new, or "serious" programs in the sample. (These figures can be seen in Tables A through F of the full report.)

All three networks increased their overall mix of violence but stayed in the same violence rank order as in 1975 with NBC the highest, ABC second, and CBS third. A network-by-network comparison shows the following rounded

Violence Index scores for 1975 and 1976:

	ABC		CBS		NBC	
	1975	1976	1975	1976	1975	1976
Overall index	187	207	155	181	201	224
"Family viewing" time (8-9 p.m. EST)	121	197	60	101	126	139
Late evening (9-11 p.m. EST)	232	196	176	175	224	282
Weekend (children's) hours (Sat. & Sun. daytime)	201	237	218	239	252	264

The 10-year trends are shown in Figures 2 through 7. Figure 2 gives the Violence Index for different hours of programming for all networks. Figure 3 presents the Violence Index for different hours of programming by each network. Figures 4 through 7 provide direct network comparisons separately for the overall Index, "family viewing time," late evening, and weekend (children's) programs.

As in 1975, NBC is the "leader" in overall violence and in both children's hours and late evening violence. ABC is in the middle in overall violence, due to a decline in late evening violence (in which it had been the highest before), and despite increases in "family viewing" and children's hours. CBS, leader in the "family viewing" concept, lifted its two-season lid on "family viewing time" violence, but still held the lowest "family viewing time," late evening, and overall violence scores. Children's hour violence on CBS rose to above that of ABC, but below that of NBC.

The Violence Index ranks CBS least and NBC most violent overall, CBS least and ABC most violent in "family viewing time," CBS least and NBC most violent in late evening, and ABC least and NBC most violent in weekend children's program time. (Detailed figures can be found in Tables 1 through 43 of the full report.)

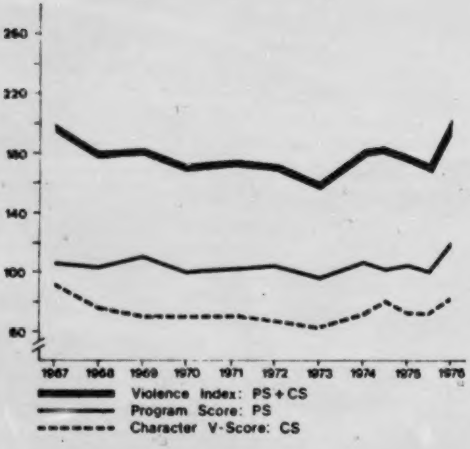

figure **1** Violence Index 1967-1976

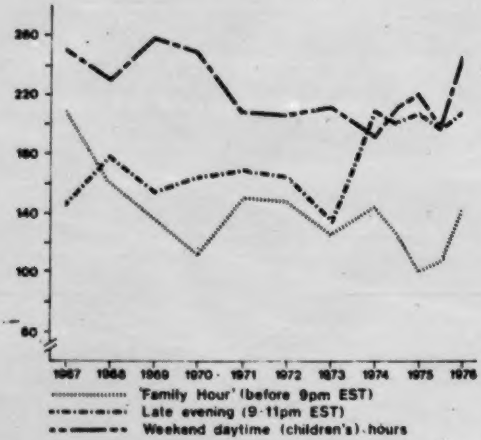

figure **2** Violence Index for different hours of dramatic programming

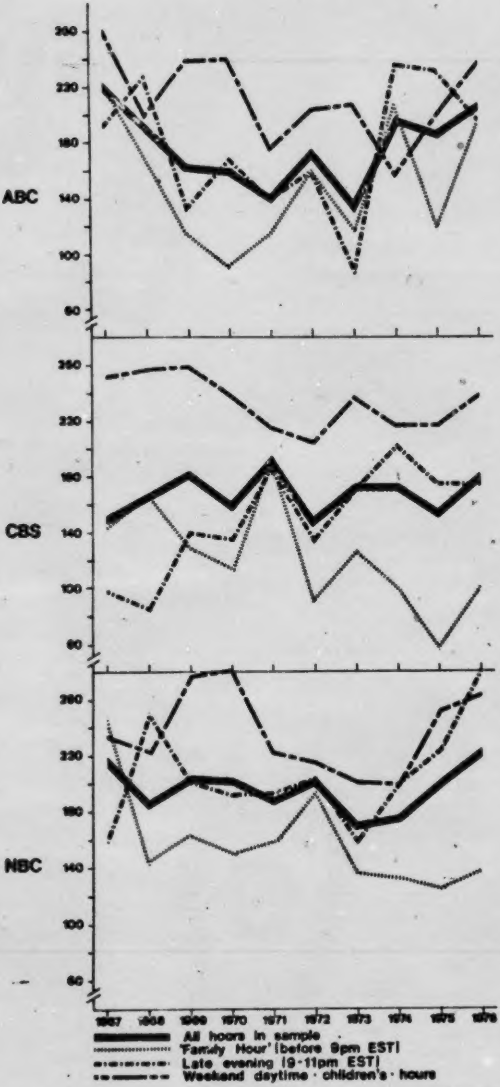

figure 3 Violence index for different hours of programming by networks

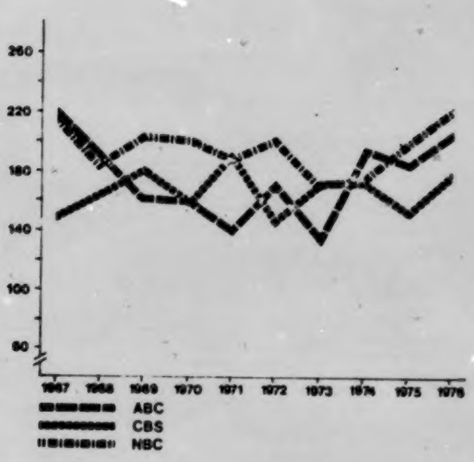

figure 4 Violence index for each network, all programs in sample

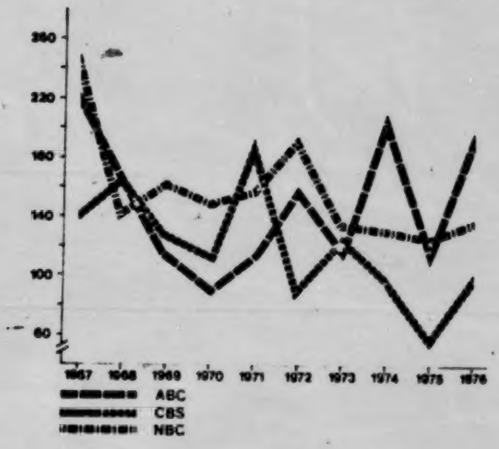

figure 5 Violence index for each network, 'Family Hour' only

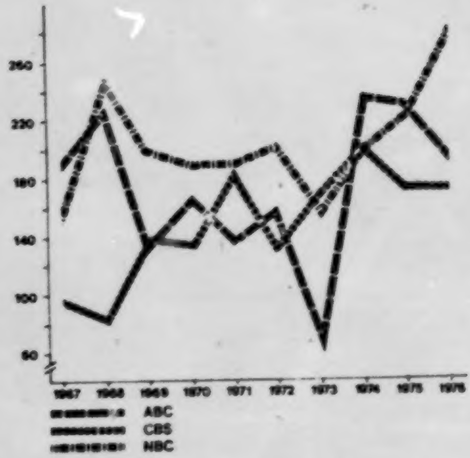

figure 6 Violence Index for each network, late evening only

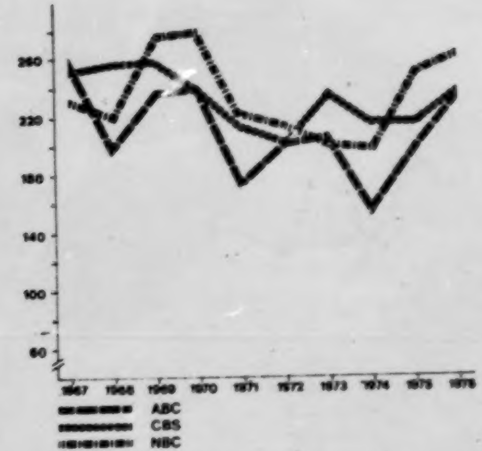

figure 7 Violence Index for each network, weekend daytime (children's) programs only

Other components of the Violence Profile deal with the structure of power demonstrated in TV violence and with conceptions of social reality that television viewing cultivates in the minds of viewers.

The most elementary -- and telling -- social structure involved in a violence scenario is that of violents and victims. The ratios of those who inflict and those who suffer violence provide a calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama. These Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the more numerous of these two roles by the [illegible] within each group. A plus sign indicates that there are more v[illegible] killers than victims or killed and a minus sign indicates that t[illegible] more victims or killed than violents or killers.

The overall Violent-Victim Ratio since 1969 (when this measure was developed) is -1.21, meaning that for every violent there were 1.21 victims. However, while the overall victimization ratio for men is -1.20, for women it is higher: -1.32. Even more striking are the differential risks of fatal victimization. There were nearly two male killers for every male killed (Killer-Killed Ratio of +1.96). However, for every female killer, one woman was killed (K-K Ratio of 1.00).

Particularly high risks of victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence) are borne by children (-1.73), old women (-3.00), unmarried women (-1.50), lower class women (-2.25), nonwhites (-1.40) and particularly nonwhite women (-2.50). "Good" characters were more likely to be victimized (-1.28) than "bad" characters (-1.02), although the latter were more often fatal victims. "Good" women were even more likely victims (-1.47) than "good" men (-1.24). But "bad" women had the most favorable (and only positive) Violent-Victim Ratio of all groups (+1.16). Committing violence seems more likely to mark a female than a male character "bad" in the world of television.

Exceptionally high relative risks of fatal victimization are borne by the old and the poor, particularly among women. (Detailed findings can be found in Tables 46 through 64, with a summary in Table 65 of the full report.)

Although the pattern of relative victimization has been fairly stable from year to year, the overall Violent-Victim Ratio declined from -1.25 in 1975 to -1.06 in 1976, suggesting a possible decrease in overall victimization. However, the relative power positions of different sex, age, and social groups did not change.

The patterns of viewer responses to questions about social reality given by different groups of children and adults confirm previous findings that the cultivation of fear and mistrust may be among the most pervasive effects of heavy exposure to the violent and risky world of television drama. In giving the "television answer" to questions about violence, law enforcement, and trust, children tended to score higher and learn more from television than adults. Heavy viewers in all sex, age, education, income, reading, and church attendance groups were more imbued with the television view of a "mean world" than were light viewers in the same groups. (Detailed results can be seen in Tables 68-71 of the full report.)

VIOLENCE PROFILE NO. 8: 1967-1976

Americans live much of their lives in the world of television drama. Children and adults alike are exposed to vivid patterns of the facts of life in that world. What are these facts, especially with regard to the context, structure, and functions of violence, and what lessons do children and adults derive from their exposure to these facts?

These are the basic questions addressed in the research that yields the Violence Profile. Trends in network television drama and the conceptions of social reality that viewing tends to cultivate in the minds of viewers are studied in a continuing project called Cultural Indicators funded by NIMH. The research is designed to provide annual indicators of network television's dramatic content and its effects on child and adult viewers.

The Violence Profile is a set of multidimensional indicators of trends in violence in television drama and their correlates in viewers' conceptions of social reality. The continuing research from which this report is drawn has investigated the nature, extent, and symbolic functions of violence in network television drama since 1967, and the conceptions of social reality television viewing cultivates since 1972.

The research began with the investigation of violence in network television drama in 1967-68 for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. It continued through 1972 under the sponsorship of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, and since then under grants from the National Institute of Mental Health. The study was broadly conceived from the beginning to show the role and symbolic functions, as well as the extent, of violence in the world of television drama. A conference of research consultants to the National Institute of Mental Health in the spring of 1972 recommended that the Violence Index be further broadened to take into account social relationships and viewer conceptions. Implementing that recommendation, we developed the Violence Profile including victimization ratios and viewer responses.

The Violence Profile consists of indicators of (1) the program context in which dramatic violence occurs, (2) the prevalence, rate, and roles of violence that make up the Violence Index, (3) the structure of power in the world of television drama as indicated by the different risks of violence and victimization for different groups in the fictional population, and (4) the extent to which (and ways in which) television cultivates its own view of facts and aspects of social reality in the conceptions of its audiences.

The first three measures of the Violence Profile reflect trends in the content of network television drama. They come from our comprehensive and periodic study of that content called Message System Analysis. The fourth, or "effects" indicator, come from our study of viewer conception cultivated by that content, called Cultivation Analysis. The detailed tabulations presenting the relevant findings of Message System Analysis and of Cultivation Analysis appear at the end of this report, following a description of the analytical procedures themselves.

MESSAGE SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Large and representative aggregates of television output (rather than individual selections from it) are the system of messages to which total communities (rather than selective individuals or groups) are exposed. Message system analysis does not deal with single works, subjective perceptions, or dramatic subtleties. It focuses on the gross, unambiguous, and commonly understood facts of portrayal. These are the features that can be expected to provide bases for interaction and common assumptions and definitions (though not necessarily agreement) among large and heterogeneous mass publics.

Message system analysis has been performed on annual sample-weeks of prime time and Saturday daytime network dramatic programming since 1967 by trained analysts who observed and coded various aspects of TV content by the most reliable methods employed in any research of this kind.

The purpose of the analysis is to provide systematic, cumulative, and objective observations representing relevant aspects of the world of television drama. The analysis yielded the basic data for the construction of indicators of trends in the dramatic content, in the prevalence, rate, and dramatic roles involved in violence, and in power relationships expressed in the distribution of risks to different groups in the fictional population. These indicators will be described after a discussion of definitions, units, samples, data collection procedures, and reliability tests of the message system analysis.

Definition of Violence

Our definition of violence is "the overt expression of physical force against self or other, or compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed, or actually hurting or killing." The action may be "accidental," it may be "humorous" or "serious," but idle threats or purely verbal gestures are not included.

There are, of course, no unintended "accidents" in fiction and drama. "Accidents" and "acts of nature" have the effect, if not purpose, of characterizing or justifying the victimization and fate of certain types of characters. Therefore, they may cultivate important lessons about social

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Violent action means a scene of some violence confined to the same parties. If a scene is interrupted (by flashback, or shift to another scene) but continues in "real time," it is still the same act. However, if a new agent of violence enters the scene, that begins another act. These units are also called violent episodes.

Characters analyzed in all programs (whether violent or not) are of two types. Major characters are the principal roles essential to the story. Minor characters (subjected to a less detailed analysis) are all other speaking roles. (The findings summarized in this report include the analysis of major characters only.)

Samples of programming

Because nationally distributed programs provide the most broadly shared TV dramatic fare, network dramatic programs transmitted in evening prime time (8 p.m. to 11 p.m. each day), and network children's dramatic programs transmitted weekend mornings (Saturday and Sunday between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.) comprise the analytical source material.*

The annual sample consists of videotaped programs broadcast in one week during the fall TV "season." When and if an episode of a regularly scheduled program is pre-empted by some special offering during the selected week, the next available episode of that series is videotaped. This replacement procedure is also used for those rare occasions when video-recorder failure results in the loss of a program during the scheduled sample week.

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*In 1967 and 1968, the hours included were 7:30 to 10 p.m. Monday through Saturday, 7 to 10 p.m. Sunday, and children's program 8 a.m. to noon Saturday. Beginning in 1969, these hours were expanded until 11 p.m. each evening and from 7 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Saturday and Sunday. As of 1971 however, network evening programming has been reduced by the FCC's prime time access rule. The effective evening parameters since 1971 are therefore 8 to 11 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 7:00 to 11:00 p.m. Sunday.

Although the sheer numbers involved make empirical estimation of sampling error for all of the dimensions in the recording instrument prohibitive, with respect to four basic sample dimensions -- network, program format (TV play, cartoon, feature film), type (action, comedy, etc.), and tone (humorous, serious) -- the solid week sample is at least as generalizable to a year's programming as larger randomly drawn samples. In a sampling experiment executed in connection with the 1967-68 study, a sample of 365 programs was constructed according to the parameters of the 1967-68 project's sample, except that it was drawn according to a one-program-per-day random selection procedure, for a calendar year that approximately bridged the interval between the 1967 and 1968 one-week samples.* There was no significant difference in the distribution of programs by network, format, type and tone (as defined for the 1967-68 project) between the experimental and solid-week samples.

Two further sampling experiments were conducted in the spring of 1975 and 1976. A week's sample from each spring's programming was analyzed and compared with the fall samples for differences in the violence indices. (The results of the two spring season analyses are separately reported in all tabulations in columns marked with an S before the year. Thus S1975 and S1976 stand for spring 1975 and 1976 seasons, 1975 and 1976 for fall seasons.) Few differences were found and they did not seem to warrant continuing the spring sampling. Another test of our sample, using a 7-week period as its base, is now underway.

Coding and training procedures

For the analysis of each program sample, a staff of between 10-[illegible] coders is recruited. The initial period requires about three weeks of instruction and testing. Several introductory sessions are devoted to item-by-item discussion of the recording instrument. The trainee group is subsequently split into randomly assigned coding teams of two each, and all pairs then view and code three selected programs. Each coding pair works independently of all other pairs, and returns one joint coding for each program. In the next general meeting, the entire staff discusses the difficulties encountered in the three-program exercise. When these problems have been resolved, the coder-pairs return to code seven additional programs selected from the tape archive for this training purpose.

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*Eleey, Michael F., "Variations in Generalizability Resulting from Sampling Characteristics of Content Analysis Data: A Case Study." The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1969.

The data generated by the coder-pairs on the ten training programs is keypunched and subjected to computerized agreement analysis. On the basis of these results, instructions are further discussed and perhaps revised, and idiosyncratic coder pairs are assigned to other tasks or dismissed. Coder pairs who survive this testing process proceed to analyze the season's videotaped program sample.

During both the training and data-collection phases, coder pairs monitor their assigned videotaped programs as often as necessary, re-screening portions as needed. All programs in the sample are recorded independently by two separate coder-pairs to provide double-coded data for reliability comparisons. (For budgetary reasons, only 30% of the programs in the 1967-1968 analysis were coded a second time.)

A final data set for subsequent analysis is compiled from the full data base by randomly selecting one of the two codings for each program. As a last check against deviant coding, reliability measures are computed for each pair, before the final selection. This procedure would identify problem coders who may not have been screened out in the training and pretest phase. In such an instance, the data recorded by the questionable pair would be excluded from the selection, and the alternative coding used. (Over the course of this study, only one such case has been encountered.)

Assessment of reliability

The purpose of reliability measures in content analysis is to ascertain the degree to which the recorded data are consistently representative of the material being studied and do not reflect observer bias or instrument ambiguity. Theoretically both types of contamination can be corrected by refining the instrument and/or by intensifying coder training, or, as a last resort, by eliminating the unsalvageable variable or dismissing the incorrigible coders. Thus measures of reliability may serve two functions: (1) as diagnostic tools in the confirmation of the recording instrument, and (2) as arbiters of the replicability of the procedure, assuring confidence in the final data. In this project, they serve both: during the preliminary period of instrument revision and coder training, they provide direction to the problem areas in the recording process; the final measures computed on the study's entire corpus of double-coded data determine the acceptability of information for analysis, and provide guidelines for its interpretation.

Agreement due merely to chance gives no indication that the data truly reflect the phenomena under observation. Simple percent-agreement measures are therefore inadequate indicators of reliability, since they fail to account for the amount of agreement expected by chance. Reliability measures in the form of agreement coefficients, however, indicate the degree to which agreement among independent observers is above chance. In general, then,

$$\text{Coefficient of agreement} = 1 - \frac{\text{observed disagreement}}{\text{expected disagreement}}$$

Values for coefficients of this form will range from plus one when agreement is perfect, to zero when agreement is purely accidental (or perfectly random), to negative values when agreement is less than that expected due to chance. These coefficients will generally give more conservative estimates of reliability than will simple percent-agreement measures.

Five computational formulas are available for calculating the agreement coefficient. The variations are distinguished by different formulations of the disagreement function -- depending on whether the variable is considered to constitute a nominal, ordinal, interval, bipolar or ratio scale. Except for their respective scale-appropriate sensitivity to deviations from perfect agreement, all formulas make the same basic assumptions as the prototype for nominal scales devised by Scott.* Thus in the case of the binary variable, all five formulas yield identical results.**

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*Scott, William A. "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," Public Opinion Quarterly, 17:3:321-325, 1955.

**For a formal discussion of part of this family of coefficients, see Klaus Krippendorff, "Bivariate Agreement Coefficients for the Reliability of Data." In E. F. Borgatta and G. W. Bohrnstedt (eds.), Sociological Methodology, 1970, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc.)

The project's double-coded sample of data is analyzed for agreement via these coefficients, with the aid of a recently developed computer program.* The cumulative reliability results for both the items and the compound measures and indicators govern the reporting of the results.

VIOLENCE INDEX AND RATIOS

Message system analysis contributes three types of information to the Violence Profile. The first is the _program context_ of which any dramatic element, such as violence, is an integral part. The second consists of the specific _indicators of violence_ in various program categories, and the composite Violence Index. The third type of information is in the form of _risk ratios_ and _scores_ which show how the pattern of violence and victimization works out for different kinds of people in the world of television drama.

Program context

Trends in programming and in such characteristics of the plays as their comic or serious tone provide the background against which specific manifestations of violence may be seen. The proportions of feature films, cartoons, television programs, and especially of "action drama" in the overall programming also have a major effect on the incidence of violence. Tables A through F present these contextual features of programming.

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*Krippendorff, Klaus, "A Computer Program for Agreement Analysis of Reliability Data, Version 4," Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, July 1973 (mimeo).

Indicators of violence

Three sets of measures have been computed from the direct observational data of the message system analysis. They show the extent to which violence occurred at all in the program samples, the frequency and rate of violent episodes, and the number of roles calling for characterizations as violents, victims, or both. These are called prevalence, rate, and role, respectively.

Prevalence. The percent of programs containing any violence indicates the prevalence (as compared to frequency or rate) of violence in a particular program sample. Prevalence is calculated both as percent of programs (%P) and as percent of program hours containing violence, but only %P is included in the Index.

Rate. As measures of prevalence indicate the proportion of program units in which one or more acts of violence occur, so rate expresses the frequency of these acts in units of programming and in units of time. The acts themselves are called "violent episodes," defined as scenes of some violence confined to the same characters. The number of such episodes divided by the total number of plays (violent or not) yields the rate of program (R/P). The rate per hour (R/H) is the number of episodes divided by the number of program hours in the sample. The latter measures the concentration or saturation of violence in time, and compensates for the difference in rates between a long program unit (such as a feature film) and a short one (such as a 15-minute cartoon).

Roles. The portrayal of characters as violents (committing violence) or victims (subjected to violence), or both, yields several measures. They are: percent of violents out of all characters in a sample; percent of victims out of all characters in a sample; all those involved as violents or as victims or both (%V); percent of killers (those committing fatal violence); percent killed (victims of lethal violence); and all those involved in killing either as killers or as killed (%K).

Composite scores and the Violence Index

The above measures of violence are based on analysts' observations. They are provided in all tabulations and should be used as the basic indicators of trends. However, for ease of illustration and comparison, they are combined to form summary scores and an index. These are not statistical findings in themselves, and should not be treated as such. Rather they serve as convenient illustrators of the basic findings and to facilitate gross comparisons.

The two scores are based on selected measures showing qualities of programs and of characterizations, respectively. Prevalence (%P), rate per program (R/P), and rate per hour (R/H) are reflected in the program score (PS). This is computed as follows:

$$PS=(\%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)$$

In the formula, %P is the percent of programs containing violence, R/P is the rate of violent episodes per play, and R/H is the rate per hour. The rates R/P and R/H are doubled in order to raise their relatively low numerical value to the importance that the concepts of the frequency and saturation of violence deserve. Nevertheless, the program score gives the greatest weight to the extent to which violence prevails at all in the programs. Secondary weight is given to the frequency of violence and the saturation of the programs with violent action.

Roles involving characters in any violence, weighted by roles involved in killing, are expressed in the character score (CS). The formula

$$CS=(\%V)+(\%K)$$

represents the percent of all leading characters committing violence, suffering violence, or both (%V), with added weight given to the percent of those involved in killing either as killers or as victims, or both (%K).

Finally, the Violence Index is obtained by adding the program score to the character score. Prevalence, rate, and role are thus reflected in the Index, with program information usually weighing slightly more heavily in the balance than information derived from character analysis. All these measures and indicators are tabulated for all years by different program samples in Tables 1 through 43.

Indicators of power: Risk Ratios

The most elementary -- and telling -- relationship involved in violent action is that of violent and victim. The pattern of those who inflict and those who suffer injury or death provides a differential calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama. That pattern is expressed in the trends and comparisons of Risk Ratios (victims divided by violents or violents by victims within the same groups) and Character V Scores (percents of characters involved in any violence plus percents involved in killing) given in Tables 44 through 64. A summary of Risk Ratios for all years for male and female characters by age, marital status, class, nationality, race, and type ("good" vs. "bad," etc.) appears as Table 65. A minus ratio indicates more victims, a plus ratio more perpetrators of violence.

CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

Cultivation analysis begins with the patterns found in the "world" of television drama. The common message systems composing that world present a coherent image of life and society. How is this image reflected in the images, expectations, definitions, interpretations and values held by its audiences? How are the "lessons" of symbolic behavior derived from other times and places, and presented in synthetic, fictional contexts, applied to assumptions about real life?

Clearly, the impact of the television world on the real world of the viewers is subtle and complex, and its investigation requires sustained and comprehensive effort. In order to develop procedures for the investigation of the cultivation effects of the message systems to which large viewing publics (and, indirectly, the entire community) are exposed, it is necessary to utilize an extensive data base and to develop new tools and techniques.

Interface with Message System Analysis

Our strategy for the investigation of television effects upon specific facts and conceptions of social reality begins with the analysis of the world of television drama. We derive from Message System Analysis those "facts" and aspects of social reality which television drama presents in a characteristically particular or peculiar fashion, at least in comparison with other conceptions of those facts and aspects (such as Census figures) derived from direct and independent observation. For example, ten years of television drama showed 64.4 percent of all characters encountering some violence either as perpetrators or as victims or both (Table 1). According to the 1970 Census, there were only .32 violent crimes per 100 persons.* In the world of television, therefore, one has a 64 percent chance of encountering violence; in the real world, one-third of 1 percent. Does TV viewing affect people's conceptions of these chances?

The next step is to ascertain what samples of heavy and light viewers (both children and adults) believe these facts of life really are. To the extent that patterns of life presented in dramatic television cultivate real-life conceptions of social reality, heavy viewers should be more likely than light viewers to choose the answers that reflect the television view of life. Our research strategy, instrumentation and samples are designed to establish the extent to which and the ways in which television does cultivate such patterns of responses.

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*Other data on personal violent crime victimization range from .41 per 100 persons (based on 1973 Police reported figures which include homicide) to 3.3 per 100 persons over 12 (based on 1974 national probability sample data which doesn't include homicide).

Strategy, instrumentation, and samples

Having developed the "television view" and the "real world" (or simply another) view of selected facts and aspects of social reality, we constructed questionnaires dealing with these facts and aspects of life. Each question has a "television answer" reflecting the "television view" of the facts and another or "non-television answer." For example one such question asks: "During any given week, what are your chances of being involved in some kind of violence? About one in ten? About one in a hundred?" "About one in ten" is closer to the television view and is used as the "television answer." (The real TV answer would be just as implausible as the former answer.) This is a forced error choice type item, similar to those used by Hammond,[4] which requires the respondent to select one of two or more answers to a factual question. All the answers may be incorrect (as in the example above), but they are chosen to reflect either the bias that is characteristic of television or to represent a bias in a direction opposite to that which would be found on television. Will heavy viewers more than light viewers choose answers that reflect a "television" rather than a "non-television" (which often means "real world") bias? The answer is yes and can be found in Tables 60-72.

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[4] Hammond, K. R., "Measuring Attitudes by Error Choice: An Indirect Method," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 43:38-48, 1948.

Another type of item is designed to test some opinion and attitude questions to which television presents peculiar answers. For example, violent television suggests that most people cannot be trusted. Is that also more the view of heavy than light viewers? The answer is yes, and can be found in Tables 69-72.

Our questionnaires have been developed and adapted for a variety of respondent groups of adults and children. In cases where we found that other researchers have asked questions which relate to our findings and have also gathered information on the television viewing habits of their respondents, we have performed secondary analyses on their data.

Nine Cultivation Analysis data bases have yielded the results reported here. Five are samples of adults and four are children's samples. The adult samples (described in Table 66) are those commissioned for or obtained by this study from the survey research organizations of [illegible], the Opinion Research Corporation, and the National Opinion Research Center, and one survey conducted by our staff and students at the University of Pennsylvania. The children's samples (described in Table 67) consist of repeated administrations of our questionnaires to students in a New Jersey public middle-school and of the Bank Street School in New York City. Tables 66 and 67 present the details of these samples and of methods of data collection.

Cultivation Indicators

Indicators of conceptions of social reality that television cultivates in the minds of viewers compose the fourth and final component of the Violence Profile. They highlight the effects of heavy television viewing for different groups and in relation to various socio-economic, educational, cultural, and (other) media consumption characteristics and activities.

To summarize larger patterns of responses, we have combined the answers to sets of related questions. Table 20 lists one group of questions combined into a Television Index relating to some assumptions about the facts of violence and law enforcement. The Table shows the relationship between each component question, the source in the message analysis data, and the corresponding "real world" figure.

Such an index can be used to compare relationships between the answers given by our respondents and their levels of television viewing, controlling for a variety of important demographic and individual characteristics. In Table 21 we show the zero-order and partial correlations of the violence and law enforcement Television Index with amount of television viewing for the adult and the children's samples.

The analysis shows a significant tendency for heavy viewers to overestimate the prevalence of violence, compared to that exhibited by light viewers. The analysis also demonstrates that the television cultivation effects cannot be accounted for in terms of the major demographic variables of age, sex, education or race, or, in the case of our New Jersey children's sample, I.Q. Controlling for these variables, we still find a positive and significant relationship between our Television Index and amount of television viewing. In each sample, television viewing is significantly associated with giving "television answers" to our questions, and the partial correlations show that the relationships remain positive and, in 10 out of 12 cases, significant when controls are added, singly or together. The effects are consistent and robust across a range of potentially powerful control comparisons.

In one of our secondary analyses we looked at three questions used in the NORC 1975 General Social Survey which seem to reflect a generalized sense

In the children's sample, the patterns of significant association are maintained with sex, age, parent's socioeconomic status, and newspaper reading controlled.

The patterns again show evidence of the existence of a "television generation," and of the greater cultivating power of television among children than among adults. In general, heavy viewers growing up with television (under 30) tend to be more imbued with the television view of life than those growing up before television (over 30), and children exhibit generally higher Cultivation Differentials than do adults.

TABLES

The detailed findings comprising Violence Profile No. 8 are given in the tabulations that follow. The four sets of measures from which indicators of trends in television violence and its symbolic functions can be constructed deal with (1) program context, (2) violence measures and indices, (3) Risk Ratios, and (4) Cultivation Indicators.

Tables A through F present the context of trends in the format, type, and tone dimensions of programming.

Annual monitoring sample dimensions, Indicators of Prevalence, Rate, and Role, and Composite Scores and Indices are given in Tables 1 through 43. The first 22 Tables present all measures and indices by time of telecast, format, and type of program. Tables 23 through 43 give selected information separately by network.

Tables 44 through 65 give detailed trend information on Risk Ratios by time and type of programs, and sex, age, marital status, class; nationality, race, and type ("good" vs. "bad," etc.) of characters. The violent-victim and killer-killed Risk Ratios are obtained by dividing the larger by the smaller classification within each group. The minus Ratio indicates more victims, a plus Ratio more perpetrators of violence. Minus 0.00 means *only* victims, plus 0.00 *only* violence.

For reasons of space, results for 1967 and 1968 and results for 1969, 1970, and 1971 are combined. (Separate annual data are in Violence Profile No. 7.) All monitoring was based on fall season samples except additional spring samples in 1975 and 1976, presented in the S1975 and S1976 columns.

Tables 66 through 71 present the samples and results of the Cultivation Analysis.

TABLE A: FORMAT OF PROGRAMS

FORMAT	YEAR COUNT COL PCT	67-68 1	69-71 2	1972 3	1973 4	1974 5	S1975 6	1975 7	S1976 8	1976 9	ROW TOTAL
CARTOON	1	57 31.1	136 40.6	37 37.0	32 32.3	32 33.3	32 33.3	35 31.5	42 36.5	34 30.9	437 35.1
TV PLAY	2	113 61.7	174 51.9	51 51.0	54 54.5	54 56.3	53 55.2	69 62.2	66 57.4	67 60.9	701 56.3
FILM	3	13 7.1	25 7.5	12 12.0	13 13.1	10 10.4	11 11.5	7 6.3	7 6.1	9 8.2	107 8.6
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 14.7	335 26.9	100 8.0	99 8.0	96 7.7	96 7.7	111 8.9	115 9.2	110 8.8	1245 100.0

TABLE B: NETWORK OF PROGRAMS

NETWORK	YEAR COUNT COL PCT	67-68 1	69-71 2	1972 3	1973 4	1974 5	S1975 6	1975 7	S1976 8	1976 9	ROW TOTAL
ABC	1	57 31.1	111 33.1	33 33.0	36 36.4	30 31.3	34 35.4	38 34.2	39 33.9	32 29.1	410 32.9
CBS	2	67 36.6	122 36.4	41 41.0	29 29.3	34 35.4	32 33.3	40 36.0	40 34.8	41 37.3	446 35.8
NBC	3	59 32.2	102 30.4	26 26.0	34 34.3	32 33.3	30 31.3	33 29.7	36 31.3	37 33.6	389 31.2
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 14.7	335 26.9	100 8.0	99 8.0	96 7.7	96 7.7	111 8.9	115 9.2	110 8.8	1245 100.0

TABLE C: TIME OF BROADCAST

YEAR

	COUNT COL PCT	67-68 1	69-71 2	1972 3	1973 4	1974 5	S1975 6	1975 7	S1976 8	1976 9	ROW TOTAL
DAYEVE											
DAYTIME (weekend)	0	62 33.9	148 44.2	40 40.0	37 37.4	38 39.6	39 40.6	45 40.5	47 40.9	49 44.5	505 40.6
FAMILY HOUR	1	74 40.4	101 30.1	27 27.0	32 32.3	29 30.2	25 26.0	31 27.9	30 26.1	25 22.7	374 30.0
LATE EVENING	2	47 25.7	86 25.7	33 33.0	30 30.3	29 30.2	32 33.3	35 31.5	38 33.0	36 32.7	366 29.4
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 14.7	335 26.9	100 8.0	99 8.0	96 7.7	96 7.7	111 8.9	115 9.2	110 8.8	1245 100.0

TABLE D: TONE OF PROGRAM

YEAR

	COUNT COL PCT	67-68 1	69-71 2	1972 3	1973 4	1974 5	S1975 6	1975 7	S1976 8	1976 9	ROW TOTAL
TONE											
COMIC	1	86 47.0	163 48.7	45 45.0	46 46.5	35 36.5	26 27.1	51 45.9	43 37.4	43 39.1	538 43.2
MIXED TONE	2	97 53.0	58 17.3	17 17.0	15 15.2	16 16.7	25 26.0	9 8.1	25 21.7	21 19.1	283 22.7
SERIOUS	3	0 0.0	114 34.0	38 38.0	38 38.4	45 46.9	45 46.9	51 45.9	47 40.9	46 41.8	424 34.1
	COLUMN TOTAL	183 14.7	335 26.9	100 8.0	99 8.0	96 7.7	96 7.7	111 8.9	115 9.2	110 8.8	1245 100.0

TABLE E: NEW OR CONTINUED PROGRAM

```
                 YEAR
         COUNT  I
       COL PCT  I67-68    69-71    1972     1973     1974     S1975    1975     S1976    1976
                I                                                                                  ROW
                I      1 I      2 I      3 I      4 I      5 I      6 I      7 I      8 I      9 I  TOTAL
NEWOLD   --------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
             0  I     80 I    142 I     30 I     35 I     36 I     10 I     49 I     21 I     41 I
  NEW PROGRAM   I   43.7 I   42.4 I   30.0 I   35.4 I   37.5 I   10.4 I   44.1 I   18.3 I   37.3 I    444
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I   35.7
             1  I    103 I    193 I     70 I     64 I     60 I     86 I     62 I     94 I     69 I
  CONTINUED     I   56.3 I   57.6 I   70.0 I   64.6 I   62.5 I   89.6 I   55.9 I   81.7 I   62.7 I    801
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I   64.3
        COLUMN      183      335      100       99       96       96      111      115      110     1245
         TOTAL     14.7     26.9      8.0      8.0      7.7      7.7      8.9      9.2      8.8    100.0
```

TABLE F: "ACTION" PROGRAMS

```
                 YEAR
         COUNT  I
       COL PCT  I67-68    69-71    1972     1973     1974     S1975    1975     S1976    1976
                I                                                                                  ROW
                I      1 I      2 I      3 I      4 I      5 I      6 I      7 I      8 I      9 I  TOTAL
PGMTYPE  --------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I
             1  I     18 I     47 I     22 I     28 I     23 I     23 I     25 I     26 I     19 I
  CRIME         I    9.8 I   14.0 I   22.0 I   28.3 I   24.0 I   24.0 I   22.5 I   22.6 I   17.3 I    231
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I   18.6
             2  I     20 I     17 I      3 I      3 I      3 I      6 I      4 I      2 I      3 I
  WESTERN       I   10.9 I    5.1 I    3.0 I    3.0 I    3.1 I    6.3 I    3.6 I    1.7 I    2.7 I     61
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I    4.9
             3  I     80 I    120 I     21 I     20 I     29 I     27 I     35 I     30 I     20 I
ACTION ADVENTURE I   43.7 I   35.8 I   21.0 I   20.2 I   30.2 I   28.1 I   31.5 I   26.1 I   18.2 I    382
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I   30.7
             4  I     65 I    151 I     54 I     48 I     41 I     40 I     47 I     57 I     68 I
  OTHER         I   35.5 I   45.1 I   54.0 I   48.5 I   42.7 I   41.7 I   42.3 I   49.6 I   61.8 I    571
                -I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I--------I   45.9
        COLUMN      183      335      100       99       96       96      111      115      110     1245
         TOTAL     14.7     26.9      8.0      8.0      7.7      7.7      8.9      9.2      8.8    100.0
```

TABLE 1: ALL PROGRAMS ALL NETWORKS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	183	335	100	99	96	96	111	115	110	1245
Program Hours Analyzed	120.5	209.2	72.0	75.2	76.0	74.5	77.3	75.7	71.6	852.0
Leading characters analyzed	455	825	300	359	346	282	364	300	291	3522
PREVALENCE	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	81.4	80.6	79.0	72.7	83.3	78.1	78.4	76.5	89.1	80.2
Program hours containing violence	85.1	83.0	84.2	79.7	86.8	81.9	83.0	80.6	89.5	83.7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	872	611	539	524	522	516	626	559	680	6449
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.8	4.8	5.4	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.6	4.9	6.2	5.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.2	7.7	7.5	7.0	6.9	6.9	8.1	7.4	9.5	7.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	3.2	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.1	4.4	21.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	52.7	48.6	39.3	34.5	40.8	46.5	43.1	44.7	60.8	46.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	60.4	55.9	49.7	48.2	51.2	61.3	53.8	54.3	64.6	55.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	69.5	64.0	58.3	55.7	60.7	69.5	64.8	63.3	74.9	64.4
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.6	5.9	7.7	5.8	9.8	10.3	6.3	8.7	6.5	7.7
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.5	3.0	4.7	3.3	5.8	5.0	3.8	3.7	3.1	4.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	15.4	7.6	9.7	7.5	13.6	12.1	9.1	9.3	8.2	10.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.15	- 1.26	- 1.40	- 1.26	- 1.32	- 1.25	- 1.22	- 1.08	- 1.20
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.12	+ 1.96	+ 1.64	+ 1.75	+ 1.70	+ 2.07	+ 1.64	+ 1.82	+ 2.11	+ 1.88
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	105.4	105.6	104.8	97.3	107.9	102.7	105.8	101.0	120.5	105.7
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	84.8	71.6	68.0	63.2	74.3	81.6	73.9	72.7	83.2	74.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	190.3	177.3	172.8	160.5	182.2	184.3	179.7	173.7	203.6	180.2

TABLE 3: ALL FAMILY HOUR PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	74	101	27	32	29	25	31	30	25	374
Program Hours Analyzed	57.0	78.3	23.5	29.0	27.0	23.0	21.5	18.8	20.0	299.1
Leading characters analyzed	205	284	98	110	109	73	105	79	69	1132
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	77.0	64.4	74.1	56.3	69.0	56.0	51.6	53.3	72.0	65.2
Program hours containing violence	65.1	75.7	85.1	70.7	77.8	87.4	60.5	60.2	77.5	75.3
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	363	318	122	147	108	85	77	87	94	1401
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.9	3.1	4.5	4.6	3.7	3.4	2.5	2.9	3.8	3.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.4	4.1	5.2	5.1	4.0	3.7	3.6	4.6	4.7	4.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	4.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	48.8	35.6	37.8	29.1	29.4	35.6	16.2	27.8	42.0	35.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	57.6	39.8	40.8	33.6	36.7	42.5	27.6	26.6	43.5	40.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	66.3	47.2	50.0	40.9	45.0	47.9	36.2	38.0	55.1	48.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.6	6.3	4.1	6.4	12.8	8.2	1.0	1.3	1.4	7.6
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.3	2.5	3.1	4.5	7.3	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4
(%K) Any involvement in killing	20.5	8.1	5.1	10.0	16.5	9.6	1.0	1.3	1.4	9.8
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.18	- 1.12	- 1.08	- 1.16	- 1.25	- 1.19	- 1.71	+ 1.05	- 1.03	- 1.16
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.62	+ 2.57	+ 1.33	+ 1.40	+ 1.75	+ 3.00	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 2.26
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	99.6	78.8	93.5	75.6	84.4	70.2	63.7	68.4	88.9	82.1
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	86.8	55.3	55.1	50.9	61.5	57.5	37.1	39.2	56.5	58.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	186.4	134.1	148.6	126.5	145.9	127.7	100.9	107.6	145.4	140.7

TABLE 3: ALL EVENING PROGRAMS FOLLOWING FAMILY HOUR

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	47	86	33	30	29	32	35	38	36	366
Program Hours Analyzed	49.0	88.8	33.0	27.5	33.0	35.0	39.5	40.3	36.5	382.5
Leading characters analyzed	135	235	119	104	115	98	133	114	104	1157
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	72.3	75.6	69.7	63.3	86.2	75.0	85.7	78.9	86.1	76.8
Program hours containing violence	82.7	84.2	79.8	78.1	92.4	85.7	92.4	87.6	91.8	86.0
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	186	355	172	130	220	229	284	268	248	2092
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.0	4.1	5.2	4.3	7.6	7.2	8.1	7.1	6.9	5.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.8	4.0	5.2	4.7	6.7	6.5	7.2	6.7	6.8	5.5
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.3	1.8	2.3	1.9	1.8	2.5	11.6
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	45.9	40.9	37.8	32.7	56.5	60.2	51.1	57.9	65.3	48.7
Victims (subjected to violence)	48.1	47.2	45.4	36.5	61.7	66.3	59.4	58.8	61.5	53.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	61.5	56.2	55.5	41.3	71.3	74.5	68.4	68.4	76.0	62.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	10.4	11.5	16.0	12.5	16.5	22.4	16.5	16.7	15.4	14.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.4	6.0	8.4	6.7	10.4	10.2	9.8	8.8	7.7	7.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	12.6	14.5	19.3	14.4	24.3	24.5	23.3	22.8	19.2	18.8
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.05	- 1.15	- 1.20	- 1.12	- 1.09	- 1.10	- 1.16	- 1.02	+ 1.06	- 1.09
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 1.92	+ 1.90	+ 1.86	+ 1.58	+ 2.20	+ 1.68	+ 1.90	+ 2.00	+ 1.90
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	87.8	91.8	90.5	81.5	114.7	102.4	116.3	106.4	113.5	99.1
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	74.1	70.6	74.8	55.8	95.7	99.0	91.7	91.2	95.2	81.7
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	161.9	162.5	165.3	137.2	210.4	201.4	208.1	197.6	208.7	180.8

TABLE 4: ALL DAYTIME PROGRAMS (WEEKEND)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	62	149	40	37	38	39	45	47	48	505
Program hours analyzed	14.5	42.2	15.5	18.7	16.0	16.5	16.3	16.6	16.1	171.8
Leading characters analyzed	115	208	83	145	122	111	126	107	118	1135
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.5	94.6	90.0	94.6	92.1	94.9	91.1	89.4	100.0	93.7
Program hours containing violence	93.1	93.7	90.3	94.6	90.6	93.9	90.8	86.9	100.0	92.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	323	938	245	247	194	202	265	204	338	2956
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.2	6.3	6.1	6.7	5.1	5.2	5.9	4.3	6.9	5.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	22.3	22.3	15.8	13.2	12.1	12.2	16.2	12.3	20.4	17.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.3	0.7	1.2	0.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	67.8	68.7	43.4	60.0	39.1	41.4	57.1	43.0	66.9	53.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	80.0	77.5	66.3	67.6	54.1	69.4	69.8	70.1	79.7	71.6
(%V) Any involvement in violence	84.3	85.6	72.3	77.2	64.8	79.3	84.9	76.6	85.6	80.1
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.3	1.3	0.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.2	1.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	1.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	9.6	2.0	1.2	0.7	0.8	2.7	0.8	0.9	2.5	2.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	-1.18	-1.13	-1.53	-1.08	-1.38	-1.67	-1.20	-1.63	-1.19	-1.33
Killers : Killed Ratio	-1.20	1.00	-0.00	+0.00	+0.00	-2.00	-0.00	-0.00	+2.00	-1.16
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	148.5	151.7	133.9	134.4	126.6	129.7	135.3	122.6	156.7	130.8
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	93.9	87.6	73.5	77.9	65.6	82.0	85.7	77.6	88.1	82.4
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.4	239.3	207.4	212.3	192.1	211.7	221.1	200.2	244.8	213.2

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TOTAL
SAMPLES (N)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Programs (plays) analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leading characters analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
PREVALENCE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%P) Programs containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RATE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent episodes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/H) Rate per all hours	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Duration of violent episodes (hrs)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents (committing violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Victims (subjected to violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%V) Any involvement in violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers (committing fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killed (victims of fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%K) Any involvement in killing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents : Victims Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers : Killed Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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TABLE 33: FAMILY HOUR CRIME, WESTERN, ACTION-ADVENTURE TYPE PROGRAMS

	67-69	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Programs (plays) analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leading characters analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
PREVALENCE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%P) Programs containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RATE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent episodes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/H) Rate per all hours	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Duration of violent episodes (hrs)	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents (committing violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Victims (subjected to violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%V) Any involvement in violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers (committing fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killed (victims of fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%K) Any involvement in killing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents : Victims Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers : Killed Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Character Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE 11: GENERAL CRIME, WESTERN, ACTION-ADVENTURE TYPE PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	6	40	15	10	17	17	12	21	29	189
Program hours analyzed	3.8	12.6	4.8	4.6	8.5	8.5	4.2	8.4	8.6	64.1
Leading characters analyzed	18	53	24	20	53	37	31	67	64	368
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	83.3	95.0	94.7	85.0	88.2	94.1	83.3	90.8	100.0	94.0
Program hours containing violence	81.8	96.5	97.9	89.2	84.8	92.3	84.0	97.4	100.0	93.8
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	26	235	127	64	98	101	100	153	214	1109
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.3	5.8	5.6	6.4	5.8	5.9	8.3	4.9	7.4	6.0
(R/H) Rate per all hours	14.2	17.7	23.3	13.9	16.2	18.5	24.0	23.8	26.4	20.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.7	2.8
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	44.4	75.5	44.1	67.1	35.8	43.2	54.8	47.8	79.7	54.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	61.1	73.6	66.7	73.5	57.7	73.0	64.5	60.6	89.4	72.3
(%V) Any involvement in violence	72.2	80.6	76.5	88.2	61.5	78.4	71.0	91.0	96.9	81.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8
Killed (victims of fatal violence)	0.0	1.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	5.4	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	0.0	3.8	2.9	0.0	0.0	8.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.8
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.38	+ 1.03	- 1.47	- 1.09	- 1.60	- 1.69	- 1.18	- 1.00	- 1.05	- 1.30
Killers : Killed Ratio	0.00	+ 2.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	- 2.00	0.00	- 0.00	0.00	- 1.67
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	120.8	161.7	155.6	125.6	130.2	137.1	148.0	153.0	161.8	146.7
Character Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	72.2	84.3	79.4	88.2	61.5	86.5	71.0	92.5	96.9	83.6
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	193.1	246.0	235.0	213.8	191.8	223.6	219.0	245.4	258.3	230.3

TABLE 46: FAMILY HOUR COMIC TONE PROGRAMS

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	27	32	11	10	7	3	16	13	6	125
	Program Hours Analyzed	13.5	18.0	5.5	5.0	3.5	1.5	8.0	5.5	3.0	63.5
	Leading characters analyzed	67	81	39	32	17	6	50	28	13	333
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	48.1	40.6	36.4	20.0	42.9	0.0	37.5	38.5	66.7	40.0
	Program Hours containing violence	48.1	47.2	36.4	20.0	42.9	0.0	37.5	27.3	66.7	40.9
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	45	34	7	4	7	0	32	21	14	164
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	1.7	1.1	0.6	0.4	1.0	0.0	2.0	1.6	2.3	1.3
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	3.3	1.9	1.3	0.8	2.0	0.0	4.0	3.8	4.7	2.6
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	28.4	7.4	7.7	6.3	5.9	0.0	6.0	21.4	38.5	13.5
	Victims (subjected to violence)	32.8	14.8	10.3	3.1	17.6	0.0	30.0	28.6	46.2	21.3
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	41.8	18.5	15.4	9.4	17.6	0.0	34.0	28.6	53.8	26.1
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.5	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	4.5	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.16	- 2.00	- 1.33	+ 2.00	- 3.00	0.00	- 5.00	- 1.33	- 1.20	- 1.58
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 4.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	58.1	46.5	40.2	22.4	48.9	0.0	49.5	49.3	80.7	47.8
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	46.3	18.5	17.9	9.4	17.6	0.0	34.0	28.6	53.8	27.3
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	104.4	65.0	58.1	31.8	66.5	0.0	83.5	77.9	134.5	75.1

TABLE 15: GENERAL COMIC TONE PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	55	63	21	23	12	9	24	18	17	242
	Program Hours Analyzed	33.3	35.0	10.2	10.8	6.0	6.0	12.5	9.0	8.2	130.9
	Leading characters analyzed	135	160	64	70	30	23	81	45	37	645
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	50.9	50.8	33.3	34.8	41.7	22.2	37.5	33.3	76.5	45.9
	Program hours containing violence	54.8	52.1	32.8	34.9	41.7	41.7	40.0	33.3	75.5	47.9
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	111	101	23	24	11	27	33	16	59	405
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	2.0	1.6	1.1	1.0	0.9	3.0	1.4	0.9	3.5	1.7
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	3.3	2.9	2.3	2.2	1.8	4.5	2.6	1.8	7.2	3.1
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	28.9	15.6	7.8	18.6	6.7	13.0	14.8	15.6	51.4	19.4
	Victims (subjected to violence)	33.3	23.1	9.4	14.3	13.3	13.0	30.9	17.8	56.8	24.7
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	43.0	28.1	15.6	25.7	16.7	17.4	42.0	22.2	70.3	32.6
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.4	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	5.2	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.48	- 1.20	+ 1.30	- 2.00	1.00	- 2.08	- 1.14	- 1.11	- 1.27
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 6.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 3.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	61.6	59.8	40.0	41.3	47.2	37.2	45.5	38.7	97.9	55.0
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	48.1	28.1	17.2	25.7	16.7	17.4	42.0	22.2	70.3	33.8
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	109.8	87.9	57.2	67.0	63.8	54.6	87.5	60.9	168.1	88.8

TABLE 16: CARTOON COMIC TONE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	31	100	24	23	23	17	27	25	26	296
Program Hours Analyzed	7.2	25.3	6.9	10.2	7.5	5.1	6.8	5.6	5.1	79.6
Leading characters analyzed	54	187	43	89	64	48	67	54	59	665
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	93.5	96.0	87.5	95.7	91.3	100.0	96.3	96.0	100.0	95.3
Program hours containing violence	90.7	96.4	89.9	95.1	86.7	100.0	97.6	91.1	100.0	94.4
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	144	669	124	170	149	94	201	124	209	1884
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.6	6.7	5.2	7.4	6.5	5.5	7.4	5.0	8.0	6.4
(R/H) Rate per all hours	20.1	26.5	18.0	16.7	19.9	18.5	29.4	22.1	41.3	23.7
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.7	3.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	59.3	78.6	46.5	43.8	50.0	47.9	71.6	55.6	79.7	62.9
Victims (subjected to violence)	74.1	85.0	62.8	71.9	68.8	77.1	76.1	83.3	83.1	77.6
(%V) Any involvement in violence	81.5	93.0	72.1	80.9	81.3	87.5	89.6	90.7	91.5	86.9
Killers (committing fatal violence)	3.7	1.1	0.0	1.1	1.6	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	0.0	1.1	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	1.5	1.9	0.0	1.1
(%K) Any involvement in killing	3.7	1.6	2.3	1.1	1.6	6.2	1.5	1.9	0.0	2.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.25	- 1.08	- 1.35	- 1.64	- 1.38	- 1.61	- 1.06	- 1.50	- 1.04	- 1.23
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 0.00	1.00	- 0.00	+ 0.00	+ 0.00	- 2.00	- 0.00	- 0.00	0.00	1.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	143.0	162.3	133.8	143.8	144.0	148.0	170.0	150.1	198.6	155.3
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	85.2	94.7	74.4	82.0	82.8	93.7	91.0	92.6	91.5	88.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	228.2	257.0	208.2	225.8	226.8	241.8	261.[illegible]	242.7	290.1	244.2

TABLE 17: ALL PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	103	193	70	64	60	86	62	94	69	801
Program Hours Analyzed	66.5	130.4	50.0	52.2	49.5	65.5	46.5	59.1	48.0	567.7
Leading characters analyzed	261	474	201	223	228	257	207	241	186	2278
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	77.7	77.2	78.6	75.0	83.3	79.1	75.8	78.7	87.0	78.8
Program hours containing violence	80.2	82.1	83.3	83.2	86.9	81.7	80.6	82.0	89.6	83.0
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	450	925	397	341	339	458	375	479	436	4200
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.4	4.8	5.7	5.3	5.6	5.3	6.0	5.1	6.3	5.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.8	7.1	7.9	6.5	6.8	7.0	8.1	8.1	9.1	7.4
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	2.1	2.7	3.4	2.4	2.5	2.8	15.9
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	50.6	47.9	44.8	34.5	43.4	45.5	45.9	44.8	55.9	46.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	58.2	53.4	58.7	44.4	53.1	59.9	60.4	57.3	61.8	55.8
(%V) Any involvement in violence	67.4	61.2	64.2	52.5	62.3	68.9	67.6	64.3	71.5	64.0
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.9	6.3	9.0	6.3	8.8	8.2	7.2	7.5	5.4	7.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	3.8	3.4	6.0	3.6	7.0	4.3	5.3	3.3	3.8	4.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	14.6	8.6	11.4	7.6	14.5	9.7	11.6	9.5	7.5	10.4
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.11	- 1.27	- 1.29	- 1.22	- 1.32	- 1.32	- 1.28	- 1.11	- 1.21
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 3.10	+ 1.88	+ 1.50	+ 1.75	+ 1.25	+ 1.91	+ 1.36	+ 2.25	+ 1.43	+ 1.79
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	99.9	101.0	105.8	98.7	108.3	103.7	104.0	105.1	117.8	104.1
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	82.0	69.8	75.6	60.1	76.8	78.6	79.2	73.9	79.0	74.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	181.9	170.8	181.4	158.8	185.1	182.3	183.3	179.0	196.8	178.6

TABLE 18: ALL NEW PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	80	142	30	35	36	10	49	21	41	444
Program Hours Analyzed	54.0	78.8	22.0	23.0	26.5	9.0	30.8	16.6	23.6	284.3
Leading characters analyzed	194	351	99	136	118	25	157	59	105	1244
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	86.2	85.2	80.0	68.6	83.3	70.0	81.6	66.7	92.7	82.7
Program hours containing violence	91.0	84.4	86.4	71.7	86.8	83.3	86.5	75.9	89.4	85.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	422	686	142	183	183	58	251	80	244	2249
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	4.8	4.7	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.1	3.8	6.0	5.1
(R/H) Rate per all hours	7.8	8.7	6.5	8.0	6.9	6.4	8.1	4.8	10.4	7.9
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.2	1.0	0.5	1.2	0.6	1.6	6.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	55.7	49.6	28.3	34.6	35.6	56.0	39.5	44.1	69.5	46.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	63.4	59.3	35.4	54.4	47.5	76.0	45.2	42.4	69.5	55.0
(%V) Any involvement in violence	72.2	67.8	46.5	61.0	57.6	76.0	61.1	59.3	81.0	65.1
Killers (committing fatal violence)	11.3	5.4	5.1	5.1	11.9	32.0	5.1	3.4	8.6	7.6
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	2.6	2.0	2.9	3.4	12.0	1.6	5.1	1.9	3.6
(%K) Any involvement in killing	16.5	6.3	6.1	7.4	11.9	36.0	5.7	8.5	9.5	9.4
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.20	- 1.25	- 1.57	- 1.33	- 1.36	- 1.15	+ 1.04	1.00	- 1.19
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 1.47	+ 2.11	+ 2.50	+ 1.75	+ 3.50	+ 2.67	+ 2.67	- 1.50	+ 4.50	+ 2.09
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	112.4	112.3	102.4	94.9	107.3	94.5	108.2	83.9	125.3	108.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	88.7	74.1	52.5	68.4	69.5	112.0	66.9	67.8	90.5	74.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	201.1	186.4	154.9	163.3	176.8	206.5	175.0	151.7	215.8	183.1

TABLE 19: GENERAL PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	74	125	44	48	39	54	42	56	50	532
	Program Hours Analyzed	60.0	113.1	42.5	45.0	41.0	53.0	40.0	47.5	43.8	485.9
	Leading characters analyzed	205	365	155	167	159	156	155	158	143	1663
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	71.6	68.0	70.5	66.7	76.9	70.4	69.0	67.9	82.0	70.9
	Program hours containing violence	79.2	80.1	80.8	80.6	85.4	79.2	80.0	78.9	86.6	81.1
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	317	489	229	228	207	273	238	288	281	2550
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	4.3	3.9	5.2	4.8	5.3	5.1	5.7	5.1	5.6	4.8
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	5.3	4.3	5.4	5.1	5.0	5.2	5.9	6.1	6.4	5.2
	Duration of Violent Episodes (Hrs)	--	--	--	1.8	2.2	2.7	1.7	1.9	2.3	12.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	46.8	38.9	42.6	29.9	48.5	46.4	41.9	41.8	49.7	42.3
	Victims (subjected to violence)	53.2	43.4	50.3	35.3	50.9	51.8	53.5	46.8	55.9	48.3
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	62.9	51.5	58.1	43.7	59.7	62.0	61.9	53.8	66.4	57.1
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	14.1	8.2	11.6	7.8	11.9	12.0	9.7	11.4	7.0	10.3
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.9	4.2	7.1	4.8	10.1	5.4	6.5	5.1	4.9	5.7
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	17.6	11.0	14.2	9.6	20.1	13.3	14.8	14.6	9.8	13.7
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.12	- 1.18	- 1.18	- 1.09	- 1.12	- 1.28	- 1.12	- 1.13	- 1.14
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.90	+ 1.93	+ 1.64	+ 1.63	+ 1.19	+ 2.22	+ 1.50	+ 2.25	+ 1.43	+ 1.83
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	90.8	84.5	91.5	86.3	97.6	90.8	92.3	90.3	106.1	90.9
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	80.5	62.5	72.3	53.3	79.8	75.3	76.8	68.4	76.2	70.7
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	171.2	147.0	163.9	139.6	177.5	166.1	169.1	158.6	182.3	161.7

TABLE 20: NBC GENERAL PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	52	74	19	18	25	10	24	17	28	278
	Program hours analyzed	46.6	80.8	19.0	14.5	22.5	9.0	20.5	16.2	20.0	231.1
	Leading characters analyzed	141	197	70	63	87	25	110	61	71	833
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	80.8	73.0	73.7	67.4	84.0	70.0	76.5	58.8	80.5	74.8
	Program hours containing violence	90.2	79.0	64.4	58.6	88.9	83.3	84.5	75.6	87.5	82.9
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	242	240	79	60	130	58	153	75	130	1193
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	4.7	3.2	4.2	3.5	5.5	5.8	3.7	4.4	5.3	4.3
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	5.2	4.0	4.9	4.0	6.1	6.4	6.0	4.6	6.6	5.2
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.6	1.2	0.8
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	48.2	28.5	27.1	30.0	30.8	56.0	23.1	49.2	64.8	40.8
	Victims (subjected to violence)	55.3	46.3	27.1	38.1	44.8	76.0	25.0	39.3	62.0	45.9
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	66.7	53.3	30.0	44.4	57.5	76.0	53.4	52.8	76.1	56.7
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	13.5	8.1	7.1	11.1	16.1	32.0	6.0	3.0	12.7	10.7
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.4	3.0	2.9	6.3	4.6	12.0	2.5	3.3	2.8	4.3
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	16.3	9.1	8.6	15.9	16.1	36.0	7.6	7.0	14.1	12.6
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.15	- 1.26	1.00	- 1.08	- 1.22	- 1.36	- 1.10	+ 1.20	+ 1.00	- 1.12
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.11	+ 2.67	+ 2.50	+ 1.75	+ 3.50	+ 2.67	+ 2.67	1.00	+ 4.50	+ 2.51
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	100.5	87.5	91.9	83.4	107.3	94.5	97.6	76.8	112.5	93.8
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	83.0	62.4	47.1	60.3	73.6	112.0	61.0	60.8	90.1	69.3
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	183.4	149.9	139.0	143.7	180.9	206.5	158.6	137.7	202.7	163.0

TABLE [illegible] PROGRAMS CONTINUED FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TOTAL
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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TABLE [illegible]: ABC DAYTIME PROGRAMS (WEEKENDS)

	67-69	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leading characters analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/H) Rate per all hours	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	---	---	---	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Victims (subjected to violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%V) Any involvement in violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers (committing fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killed (victims of fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%K) Any involvement in killing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents : Victims Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers : Killed Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Character Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE 27: ABC GENERAL PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	40	67	24	24	18	22	21	22	23	261
Program hours analyzed	35.0	54.9	20.0	20.0	19.5	21.5	19.5	21.5	18.2	230.1
Leading characters analyzed	115	199	52	83	69	62	79	63	75	797
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	85.0	58.2	66.7	50.0	94.4	68.2	76.2	72.7	91.3	71.3
Program hours containing violence	91.4	68.0	67.7	63.7	97.4	76.7	84.0	81.4	91.8	80.5
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	212	206	123	79	134	110	152	142	129	1287
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	3.1	5.1	3.3	7.4	5.0	7.2	6.5	5.6	4.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	6.1	3.8	6.1	3.9	6.9	5.1	7.8	6.6	7.0	5.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.3	1.6	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.2	5.8
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	60.0	31.7	37.0	28.9	43.5	54.8	43.0	55.6	61.3	44.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	62.6	37.2	41.3	26.5	71.0	64.5	55.7	50.8	61.3	49.8
(%V) Any involvement in violence	73.9	43.2	52.2	36.1	71.0	67.7	68.4	63.5	74.7	58.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.5	5.5	13.0	2.4	20.3	17.7	3.8	11.1	5.3	8.8
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.1	2.5	9.8	2.4	11.6	4.8	5.1	4.8	4.0	5.3
(%K) Any involvement in killing	21.7	7.5	16.3	4.8	26.1	17.7	8.9	14.3	9.3	13.3
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.04	- 1.17	- 1.12	+ 1.09	- 1.64	- 1.18	- 1.29	+ 1.09	1.00	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 2.20	+ 1.33	1.00	+ 1.75	+ 3.67	- 1.33	+ 2.33	+ 1.33	+ 1.66
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	107.5	71.8	89.2	64.5	123.1	88.4	106.3	98.8	116.4	92.3
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	95.7	50.8	68.5	40.9	97.1	85.4	77.2	77.8	84.0	71.8
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	203.2	122.6	157.7	105.4	220.2	173.8	183.5	176.6	200.4	164.1

TABLE 28:ABC CARTOON PROGRAMS

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	17	44	9	12	12	12	17	17	9	149
	Program Hours Analyzed	4.5	11.3	4.0	6.3	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.7	2.8	48.5
	Leading characters analyzed	34	92	12	43	39	30	44	39	23	356
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	100.0	97.7	100.0	91.7	83.3	91.7	82.4	88.2	100.0	93.3
	Program hours containing violence	100.0	97.8	100.0	92.1	80.0	90.0	75.9	85.7	100.0	91.6
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	96	248	82	82	54	62	75	57	61	817
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	5.6	5.6	9.1	6.8	4.5	5.2	4.4	3.4	6.8	5.5
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	21.3	21.9	20.5	12.9	10.8	12.4	15.5	12.2	21.5	16.8
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	1.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	58.8	60.9	16.7	44.2	28.2	36.7	56.8	30.8	65.2	48.0
	Victims (subjected to violence)	76.5	69.6	66.7	67.4	43.6	63.3	61.4	76.9	73.9	66.6
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	82.4	79.3	75.0	74.4	46.2	66.7	77.3	82.1	82.6	74.4
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	2.9	1.1	0.0	2.3	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	2.9	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.1
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	5.9	1.1	0.0	2.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.6	0.0	2.0
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.30	- 1.14	- 4.00	- 1.53	- 1.55	- 1.73	- 1.08	- 2.50	- 1.13	- 1.39
	Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	0.00	+ 0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	- 0.00	0.00	1.00
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	154.0	152.8	159.2	131.2	113.9	126.8	122.2	119.4	156.6	137.9
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	88.2	80.4	75.0	76.7	46.2	73.3	77.3	84.6	82.6	76.4
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	242.2	233.2	234.2	208.0	160.1	200.1	199.5	204.0	239.2	214.4

TABLE 29: ABC CRIME, WESTERN, ACTION-ADVENTURE TYPE PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	41	61	14	20	18	17	23	22	14	230
Program Hours Analyzed	30.8	36.5	13.5	17.8	19.0	16.0	13.7	21.5	11.5	180.2
Leading characters analyzed	110	166	49	72	66	49	76	64	49	701
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	100.0	96.7	100.0	90.0	94.4	94.1	95.7	81.8	100.0	95.2
Program hours containing violence	100.0	97.9	100.0	86.0	97.4	96.9	96.3	86.0	100.0	95.7
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	269	374	133	147	145	126	172	158	134	1658
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	6.6	6.1	9.5	7.3	8.1	7.4	7.5	7.2	9.6	7.2
(R/H) Rate per all hours	8.7	10.3	9.9	8.2	7.6	7.9	12.6	7.3	11.7	9.2
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.6	1.7	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.3	6.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	70.0	62.0	53.1	50.0	57.6	75.5	63.2	57.8	81.6	63.1
Victims (subjected to violence)	78.2	71.7	57.1	56.9	75.8	83.7	68.4	56.3	83.7	70.5
(%V) Any involvement in violence	86.4	79.5	75.5	68.1	77.3	87.8	85.5	68.8	93.9	80.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	17.3	7.2	22.4	4.2	21.2	22.4	3.9	10.9	8.2	12.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.4	3.0	14.3	2.8	12.1	6.1	3.9	4.7	6.1	5.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	23.6	9.0	26.5	6.9	27.3	22.4	7.9	14.1	14.3	15.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.12	- 1.16	- 1.08	- 1.14	- 1.32	- 1.11	- 1.08	+ 1.03	- 1.02	- 1.12
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 2.40	+ 1.57	+ 1.50	+ 1.75	+ 3.67	1.00	+ 2.33	+ 1.33	+ 2.08
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	130.6	129.5	138.7	121.2	125.8	124.7	135.8	110.9	142.4	128.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	110.0	88.6	102.0	75.0	104.5	110.2	93.4	82.9	108.2	95.9
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	240.6	218.0	240.7	196.2	230.4	234.9	229.2	193.7	250.6	223.9

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TABLE 30: ALL CBS PROGRAMS

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	67	122	41	29	34	32	40	40	41	446
	Program Hours Analyzed	39.5	72.5	24.5	23.1	26.0	24.0	25.5	24.7	24.0	283.8
	Leading characters analyzed	152	279	108	107	124	105	123	109	101	1208
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	71.6	77.9	70.7	75.9	76.5	71.9	67.5	67.5	82.9	74.2
	Program hours containing violence	75.3	82.2	72.7	82.7	80.8	79.2	72.5	71.6	83.3	78.4
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	248	593	167	181	187	171	174	146	199	2066
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	3.7	4.9	4.1	6.2	5.5	5.3	4.3	3.6	4.9	4.6
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	6.3	8.2	6.8	7.8	7.2	7.1	6.8	5.9	8.3	7.3
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.2	0.9	1.4	1.0	0.8	1.0	6.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	40.1	52.0	34.3	33.6	41.9	41.0	35.0	44.0	50.5	42.7
	Victims (subjected to violence)	49.3	58.1	44.4	52.3	46.0	55.2	48.8	46.8	56.4	51.7
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	56.6	65.9	51.9	57.0	58.9	64.8	55.3	56.0	67.3	60.0
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	7.9	7.2	5.6	9.3	9.7	6.7	6.5	5.5	5.0	7.1
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.3	3.6	0.9	7.5	4.8	5.7	4.9	3.7	1.0	4.1
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	11.2	9.3	5.6	13.1	13.7	9.5	9.8	8.3	5.0	9.6
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.23	- 1.12	- 1.30	- 1.56	- 1.10	- 1.35	- 1.40	- 1.06	- 1.12	- 1.21
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 1.50	+ 2.00	+ 6.00	+ 1.25	+ 2.00	+ 1.17	+ 1.33	+ 1.50	+ 5.00	+ 1.72
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	91.6	104.0	92.5	104.0	101.9	96.8	89.8	86.6	109.2	98.0
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	67.8	75.3	57.4	70.1	72.6	74.3	65.0	64.2	72.3	69.6
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	159.4	179.2	149.9	174.1	174.4	171.1	154.9	150.9	181.5	167.7

TABLE 31: CBS FAMILY HOUR PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	24	33	9	10	10	8	11	8	8	121
Program Hours Analyzed	17.5	23.5	6.0	7.5	8.0	6.0	6.5	5.0	5.0	85.0
Leading characters analyzed	64	81	32	30	41	29	39	23	22	361
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	66.7	63.6	55.6	50.0	50.0	62.5	27.3	12.5	62.5	54.5
Program hours containing violence	77.1	74.5	66.7	60.0	56.3	75.0	30.8	20.0	60.0	64.1
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	92	109	16	44	31	23	20	4	11	350
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	3.8	3.3	1.8	4.4	3.1	2.9	1.8	0.5	1.4	2.9
(R/H) Rate per all hours	5.3	4.6	2.7	5.9	3.9	3.8	3.1	0.8	2.2	4.1
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.6
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	35.9	35.8	18.8	20.0	22.0	20.7	2.6	8.7	18.2	23.8
Victims (subjected to violence)	46.9	44.4	21.9	40.0	19.5	37.9	23.1	4.3	27.3	33.2
(%V) Any involvement in violence	54.7	48.1	28.1	43.3	29.3	44.8	23.1	8.7	31.8	38.5
Killers (committing fatal violence)	15.6	8.6	0.0	6.7	4.9	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	6.3	3.7	0.0	10.0	4.9	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6
(%K) Any involvement in killing	17.2	11.1	0.0	13.3	7.3	6.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.0
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.30	- 1.24	- 1.17	- 2.00	+ 1.13	- 1.83	- 9.00	+ 2.00	- 1.50	- 1.40
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.50	+ 2.33	0.00	- 1.50	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	+ 1.69
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	84.8	79.5	64.4	70.5	63.9	75.9	37.1	15.1	69.6	68.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	71.9	59.3	28.1	56.7	36.6	51.7	23.1	8.7	31.8	46.5
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	156.7	138.8	92.6	127.2	100.5	127.6	60.1	23.8	101.5	115.1

TABLE 32: CBS EVENING PROGRAMS (FOLLOWING FAMILY HOUR)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	20	34	12	11	12	12	14	15	16	146
Program Hours Analyzed	17.0	32.5	12.0	11.5	12.0	12.0	13.0	13.3	13.0	136.3
Leading characters analyzed	49	93	39	45	39	35	43	48	39	430
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	50.0	70.6	58.3	81.8	75.0	58.3	71.4	66.7	75.0	67.1
Program hours containing violence	67.6	83.1	66.7	91.3	87.5	75.0	84.6	81.1	84.6	80.2
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	35	119	56	64	84	77	69	75	73	652
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	1.8	3.5	4.7	5.8	7.0	6.4	4.9	5.0	4.6	4.5
(R/H) Rate per all hours	2.1	3.7	4.7	5.6	7.0	6.4	5.3	5.7	5.6	4.8
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.4	3.5
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	16.3	41.9	33.3	37.8	59.0	48.6	44.2	52.1	56.4	42.6
Victims (subjected to violence)	22.4	44.1	38.5	42.2	64.1	54.3	51.2	50.0	43.6	44.9
(%V) Any involvement in violence	32.7	54.8	43.6	46.7	66.7	62.9	58.1	60.4	66.7	54.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	0.0	12.9	15.4	17.8	23.1	17.1	18.6	12.5	12.8	14.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	2.0	6.5	2.6	11.1	10.3	14.3	11.6	8.3	2.6	7.4
(%K) Any involvement in killing	2.0	16.1	15.4	22.2	33.3	22.9	25.6	18.7	12.8	18.1
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.38	- 1.05	- 1.15	- 1.12	- 1.09	- 1.12	- 1.16	+ 1.04	+ 1.29	- 1.05
Killers : Killed Ratio	- 0.00	+ 2.00	+ 6.00	+ 1.60	+ 2.25	+ 1.20	+ 1.60	+ 1.50	+ 5.00	+ 1.88
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	57.6	84.9	77.0	104.6	103.0	84.0	91.9	88.0	95.4	85.6
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	34.7	71.0	59.0	68.9	100.0	85.7	83.7	79.2	79.5	72.3
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	92.3	155.9	136.0	173.5	203.0	169.7	175.6	167.2	174.8	158.0

TABLE 33: CBS DAYTIME PROGRAMS (WEEKEND)

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)				N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	23	55	20	8	12	12	15	17	17	179
	Program Hours Analyzed	5.0	16.5	6.5	4.1	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.4	6.0	62.5
	Leading characters analyzed	39	105	37	32	44	41	41	38	40	417
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	95.7	90.9	85.0	100.0	100.0	91.7	93.3	94.1	100.0	93.3
	Program hours containing violence	95.0	91.5	89.2	100.0	100.0	91.7	91.7	92.2	100.0	93.8
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	121	365	95	73	72	71	85	67	115	1064
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	6.6	4.8	9.1	6.0	5.9	5.7	3.9	6.8	5.9
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	24.2	22.2	14.6	17.7	12.0	11.8	14.2	10.4	19.2	17.0
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.5	2.1
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	76.9	73.3	48.6	40.6	45.5	48.8	56.1	55.3	62.5	59.2
	Victims (subjected to violence)	87.2	81.0	70.3	78.1	54.5	68.3	70.7	68.4	85.0	74.6
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	89.7	89.5	81.1	84.4	79.5	80.5	82.9	78.9	87.5	84.7
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.1	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	1.2
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	12.8	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	2.2
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.13	- 1.10	- 1.44	- 1.92	- 1.20	- 1.40	- 1.26	- 1.24	- 1.36	- 1.26
	Killers : Killed Ratio	- 1.50	1.00	0.00	0.00	+ 0.00	0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.25
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	154.6	148.5	123.7	153.7	136.0	127.2	133.0	122.8	151.9	139.2
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	102.6	91.4	81.1	84.4	81.8	80.5	85.4	78.9	87.5	86.9
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	257.1	239.9	204.8	238.1	217.8	207.7	218.4	201.8	239.4	226.0

TABLE 36: CBS GENERAL PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	44	71	22	21	24	22	29	28	29	290
Program hours analyzed	34.5	58.0	19.0	19.0	21.5	19.5	22.0	21.3	21.0	235.8
Leading characters analyzed	113	183	73	75	51	69	35	68	75	658
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	59.1	67.6	59.1	66.7	66.7	63.6	55.2	53.6	75.9	68.4
Program hours containing violence	72.5	79.3	48.4	78.9	76.7	76.9	68.2	67.1	81.0	75.8
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	127	249	72	108	125	105	93	90	110	1079
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	2.9	3.5	3.3	5.1	5.2	4.8	3.2	3.2	3.8	3.7
(R/H) Rate per all hours	3.7	4.3	3.8	5.7	5.8	5.4	4.2	4.2	5.2	4.6
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.9	0.6	1.2	0.5	0.6	0.6	4.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	27.4	41.0	27.4	30.7	44.0	36.2	28.6	26.1	41.3	35.3
Victims (subjected to violence)	36.3	45.9	31.5	41.3	41.8	44.9	40.0	26.1	46.7	41.1
(%V) Any involvement in violence	45.1	53.0	37.0	45.3	51.6	55.1	45.7	46.4	60.0	49.2
Killers (committing fatal violence)	8.8	10.4	8.2	13.3	13.1	10.1	8.6	7.1	6.7	9.6
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.4	4.9	1.4	10.7	8.8	8.7	5.7	4.8	1.3	5.2
(%K) Any involvement in killing	10.6	13.1	8.2	18.7	17.6	14.5	11.4	10.7	6.7	12.5
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.32	- 1.12	- 1.15	- 1.35	+ 1.05	- 1.24	- 1.40	1.00	- 1.13	- 1.17
Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.00	+ 2.11	+ 6.00	+ 1.25	+ 1.83	+ 1.17	+ 1.50	+ 1.50	+ 5.00	+ 1.85
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	72.3	83.2	73.4	88.3	88.7	84.0	70.0	68.5	93.9	85.0
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	55.7	66.1	45.2	64.0	69.2	69.6	57.3	57.1	66.7	61.7
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	128.0	149.3	118.6	152.3	157.9	153.5	127.3	125.6	160.6	146.7

TABLE 22: [illegible] CARTOON PROGRAMS

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Programs (plays) analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leading characters analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
PREVALENCE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%P) Programs containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RATE	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent episodes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/H) Rate per all hours	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Duration of violent episodes (hrs)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents (committing violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Victims (subjected to violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%V) Any involvement in violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers (committing fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%K) Any involvement in killing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents : Victims Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers : Killed Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Character Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
SAMPLES (100%)										
Programs (plays) analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Leading characters analyzed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
PREVALENCE										
(%P) Programs containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Program hours containing violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
RATE										
Number of violent episodes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(R/H) Rate per all hours	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)										
Violents (committing violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Victims (subjected to violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%V) Any involvement in violence	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers (committing fatal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(%K) Any involvement in killing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violents : Victims Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Killers : Killed Ratio	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Character Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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[illegible]										
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[illegible]										
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TABLE 41: NBC GENERAL PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	42	61	17	22	22	20	26	23	24	257
	Program Hours Analyzed	37.1	60.1	19.5	20.5	22.5	21.0	25.0	21.0	24.5	251.2
	Leading characters analyzed	118	170	60	72	86	60	99	62	64	791
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	83.3	85.2	94.1	68.2	81.8	80.0	88.5	73.9	87.5	82.9
	Program hours containing violence	87.6	90.8	94.9	82.9	86.7	85.7	92.0	85.7	91.8	89.0
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	222	274	112	107	86	116	153	131	179	1380
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	5.3	4.5	6.6	4.9	3.9	5.8	5.9	5.7	7.5	5.4
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	6.0	4.6	5.7	5.2	3.8	5.5	6.1	6.2	7.3	5.5
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.2	0.8	1.7	6.6
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	54.2	42.4	51.7	34.7	37.2	53.3	45.5	38.7	62.5	46.1
	Victims (subjected to violence)	62.7	51.2	60.0	41.7	38.4	56.7	47.5	45.2	67.2	52.1
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	73.7	61.8	70.0	51.4	57.0	70.0	61.6	53.2	75.0	63.7
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	16.1	8.8	8.3	11.1	9.3	16.7	12.1	11.3	15.6	11.9
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.9	4.1	5.0	2.8	7.0	5.0	4.0	4.8	7.8	5.1
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	18.6	10.6	11.7	11.1	14.0	16.7	14.1	14.5	18.8	14.2
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.16	- 1.21	- 1.16	- 1.20	- 1.03	- 1.06	- 1.04	- 1.17	- 1.07	- 1.13
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.71	+ 2.14	+ 1.67	+ 4.00	+ 1.33	+ 3.33	+ 3.00	+ 2.33	+ 2.00	+ 2.35
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	105.9	103.4	118.8	88.3	97.3	102.6	112.5	97.8	117.0	104.6
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	92.4	72.4	81.7	62.5	70.9	86.7	75.8	67.7	93.8	77.9
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	198.3	175.7	200.4	150.8	168.2	189.3	188.2	165.5	210.8	182.5

TABLE 42: NBC CARTOON PROGRAMS

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	17	41	9	12	10	10	7	13	13	132
Program Hours Analyzed	4.4	10.6	4.0	5.2	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.8	1.9	38.4
Leading characters analyzed	36	85	28	54	28	25	19	27	28	330
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	88.2	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.7
Program hours containing violence	84.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.0
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	96	290	55	75	61	57	72	83	113	902
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	5.6	7.1	6.1	6.3	6.1	5.7	10.3	6.4	8.7	6.8
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.7	27.4	13.8	14.3	20.3	19.0	28.8	21.7	59.5	23.5
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	1.7
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	72.2	76.5	50.0	37.0	42.9	44.0	52.6	55.6	89.3	60.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	77.8	87.1	67.9	66.7	75.0	88.0	94.7	81.5	89.3	80.3
(%V) Any involvement in violence	83.3	94.1	71.4	74.1	75.0	96.0	100.0	88.9	96.4	86.4
Killers (committing fatal violence)	5.6	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	5.6	2.4	3.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
(%K) Any involvement in killing	11.1	3.5	3.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.08	- 1.14	- 1.36	- 1.80	- 1.75	- 2.00	- 1.80	- 1.47	1.00	- 1.34
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	143.0	169.0	139.7	141.2	142.9	149.4	178.2	156.1	236.3	158.3
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	94.4	97.6	75.0	74.1	75.0	100.0	100.0	88.9	96.4	89.1
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	237.4	266.7	214.7	215.2	217.9	249.4	278.2	245.0	332.8	247.4

TABLE 43: NBC CRIME, WESTERN, ACTION-ADVENTURE TYPE PROGRAMS

		67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Programs (plays) analyzed	41	66	16	19	21	21	20	19	15	238
	Program Hours Analyzed	33.7	46.9	15.5	15.7	19.5	20.0	21.0	17.5	14.7	204.5
	Leading characters analyzed	114	166	59	81	80	65	80	50	44	739
PREVALENCE		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P)	Programs containing violence	95.1	97.0	100.0	100.0	95.2	90.5	95.0	89.5	93.3	95.4
	Program hours containing violence	93.6	96.8	100.0	100.0	94.9	90.0	95.2	94.3	93.2	95.3
RATE		N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
	Number of violent episodes	285	423	112	137	112	133	147	134	127	1610
(R/P)	Rate per all programs (plays)	7.0	6.4	7.0	7.2	5.3	6.3	7.3	7.1	8.5	6.8
(R/H)	Rate per all hours	8.5	9.0	7.2	8.7	5.7	6.6	7.0	7.7	8.7	7.9
	Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.3	6.4
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	Violents (committing violence)	71.1	60.2	54.2	39.5	47.5	52.3	48.7	48.0	70.5	55.6
	Victims (subjected to violence)	74.6	69.9	64.4	65.4	53.7	66.2	57.5	62.0	75.0	66.0
(%V)	Any involvement in violence	86.0	80.7	72.9	70.4	72.5	81.5	68.8	70.0	86.4	77.3
	Killers (committing fatal violence)	18.4	6.6	5.1	8.6	10.0	15.4	13.7	14.0	18.2	11.6
	Killed (victims of lethal violence)	7.9	2.4	3.4	2.5	7.5	4.6	5.0	4.0	6.8	4.7
(%K)	Any involvement in killing	22.8	8.4	8.5	8.6	15.0	15.4	16.2	16.0	20.5	14.1
	Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.05	- 1.16	- 1.19	- 1.66	- 1.13	- 1.26	- 1.18	- 1.29	- 1.06	- 1.19
	Killers : Killed Ratio	+ 2.33	+ 2.75	+ 1.50	+ 3.50	+ 1.33	+ 3.33	+ 2.75	+ 3.50	+ 2.67	+ 2.46
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE											
	Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	126.0	127.8	128.5	131.8	117.4	116.4	123.7	118.9	127.6	124.7
	Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	108.8	89.2	81.4	79.0	87.5	96.9	85.0	86.0	106.8	91.3
	Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	234.7	217.0	209.8	210.8	204.9	213.4	208.7	204.9	234.4	216.0

TABLE 44· RISK RATIOS -- CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ALL CHARACTERS																		
Total	825	100.0	300	100.0	359	100.0	346	100.0	282	100.0	364	100.0	300	100.0	291	100.0	3067	100.0
Violents	401	48.6	118	39.3	124	34.5	141	40.8	131	46.5	157	43.1	134	44.7	177	60.8	1383	45.1
Victims	461	55.9	149	49.7	173	48.2	177	51.2	173	61.3	196	53.8	163	54.3	188	64.6	1680	54.8
Involved In Violence	528	64.0	175	58.3	200	55.7	210	60.7	196	69.5	236	64.8	190	63.3	218	74.9	1953	63.7
Killers	49	5.9	23	7.7	21	5.8	34	9.8	29	10.3	23	6.3	20	6.7	19	6.5	218	7.1
Killed	25	3.0	14	4.7	12	3.3	20	5.8	14	5.0	14	3.8	11	3.7	9	3.1	119	3.9
Involved In Killing	63	7.6	29	9.7	27	7.5	47	13.6	34	12.1	33	9.1	28	9.3	24	8.2	285	9.3
Character V-Score		71.6		68.0		63.2		74.3		81.6		73.9		72.7		83.2		73.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.15		- 1.26		- 1.40		- 1.26		- 1.32		- 1.25		- 1.22		- 1.06		- 1.21
Killers : Killed		+ 1.96		+ 1.64		+ 1.75		+ 1.70		+ 2.07		+ 1.64		+ 1.82		+ 2.11		+ 1.83
MEN																		
Total	629	100.0	217	100.0	260	100.0	263	100.0	218	100.0	283	100.0	239	100.0	219	100.0	2328	100.0
Violents	340	54.1	104	47.9	101	38.8	121	46.0	112	51.4	131	46.3	117	49.0	142	64.8	1168	50.2
Victims	383	60.9	125	57.6	139	53.5	151	57.4	141	64.7	162	57.2	147	61.5	152	69.4	1400	60.1
Involved In Violence	434	69.0	145	66.8	157	60.4	176	66.9	159	72.9	193	68.2	165	69.0	175	79.9	1604	68.9
Killers	47	7.5	22	10.1	21	8.1	29	11.0	25	11.5	21	7.4	18	7.5	15	6.8	198	8.5
Killed	20	3.2	13	6.0	9	3.5	18	6.8	12	5.5	13	4.6	10	4.2	6	2.7	101	4.3
Involved In Killing	57	9.1	27	12.4	24	9.2	40	15.2	29	13.3	30	10.6	25	10.5	17	7.8	249	10.7
Character V-Score		78.1		79.3		69.6		82.1		86.2		78.8		79.5		87.7		79.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.13		- 1.20		- 1.38		- 1.25		- 1.26		- 1.24		- 1.26		- 1.07		- 1.20
Killers : Killed		+ 2.35		+ 1.69		+ 2.33		+ 1.61		+ 2.08		+ 1.62		+ 1.80		+ 2.50		+ 1.96
WOMEN																		
Total	180	100.0	81	100.0	97	100.0	81	100.0	62	100.0	73	100.0	56	100.0	67	100.0	697	100.0
Violents	49	27.2	13	16.0	21	21.6	20	24.7	18	29.0	21	28.8	12	21.4	30	44.8	184	26.4
Victims	64	35.6	22	27.2	32	33.0	25	30.9	30	48.4	27	37.0	12	21.4	31	46.3	243	34.9
Involved In Violence	80	44.4	28	34.6	41	42.3	33	40.7	35	56.5	36	49.3	20	35.7	38	56.7	311	44.6
Killers	1	0.6	1	1.2	0	0.0	5	6.2	4	6.5	2	2.7	2	3.6	4	6.0	19	2.7
Killed	5	2.8	1	1.2	3	3.1	2	2.5	2	3.2	1	1.4	1	1.8	3	4.5	18	2.6
Involved In Killing	5	2.8	2	2.5	3	3.1	7	8.6	5	8.1	3	4.1	3	5.4	7	10.4	35	5.0
Character V-Score		47.2		37.0		45.4		49.4		64.5		53.4		41.1		67.2		49.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.31		- 1.69		- 1.52		- 1.25		- 1.67		- 1.29		1.00		- 1.03		- 1.32
Killers : Killed		- 5.00		1.00		- 0.00		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 1.33		+ 1.06

TABLE 45: RISK RATIOS -- CHARACTERS IN GENERAL PROGRAMS (ALL EXCEPT CARTOONS)

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ALL CHARACTERS																		
Total	552	100.0	225	100.0	230	100.0	246	100.0	191	100.0	273	100.0	209	100.0	214	100.0	2140	100.0
Violents	210	38.0	85	37.8	72	31.3	106	43.1	91	47.6	104	38.1	91	43.5	117	54.7	876	40.9
Victims	245	44.4	97	43.1	83	36.1	120	48.8	105	55.0	129	47.3	92	44.0	124	57.9	995	46.5
Involved In Violence	288	52.2	117	52.0	101	43.9	145	58.9	122	63.9	159	58.2	112	53.6	149	69.6	1193	55.7
Killers	45	8.2	23	10.2	20	8.7	33	13.4	28	14.7	23	8.4	20	9.6	19	8.9	211	9.9
Killed	21	3.8	13	5.8	12	5.2	20	8.1	12	6.3	13	4.8	10	4.8	9	4.2	110	5.1
Involved In Killing	57	10.3	28	12.4	26	11.3	46	18.7	31	16.2	32	11.7	27	12.9	24	11.2	271	12.7
Character V-Score		62.5		64.4		55.2		77.6		80.1		70.0		66.5		80.8		68.4
Violents : Victims		- 1.17		- 1.14		- 1.15		- 1.13		- 1.15		- 1.24		- 1.01		- 1.06		- 1.14
Killers : Killed		+ 2.14		+ 1.77		+ 1.67		+ 1.65		+ 2.33		+ 1.77		+ 2.00		+ 2.11		+ 1.92
MEN																		
Total	395	100.0	161	100.0	161	100.0	183	100.0	145	100.0	205	100.0	160	100.0	151	100.0	1561	100.0
Violents	174	44.1	75	46.6	61	37.9	90	49.2	77	53.1	86	42.0	82	51.2	87	57.6	732	46.9
Victims	195	49.4	82	50.9	68	42.2	100	54.6	86	59.3	105	51.2	84	52.5	95	62.9	815	52.2
Involved In Violence	228	57.7	97	60.2	81	50.3	119	65.0	99	68.3	127	62.0	98	61.2	113	74.8	962	61.6
Killers	43	10.9	22	13.7	20	12.4	28	15.3	24	16.6	21	10.2	18	11.2	15	9.9	191	12.2
Killed	16	4.1	12	7.5	9	5.6	18	9.8	10	6.9	12	5.9	10	6.2	6	4.0	93	6.0
Involved In Killing	51	12.9	26	16.1	23	14.3	39	21.3	26	17.9	29	14.1	25	15.6	17	11.3	236	15.1
Character V-Score		70.6		76.4		64.6		86.3		86.2		76.1		76.9		86.1		76.7
Violents : Victims		- 1.12		- 1.09		- 1.11		- 1.11		- 1.12		- 1.22		- 1.02		- 1.09		- 1.11
Killers : Killed		+ 2.69		+ 1.83		+ 2.22		+ 1.56		+ 2.40		+ 1.75		+ 1.80		+ 2.50		+ 2.05
WOMEN																		
Total	155	100.0	64	100.0	69	100.0	63	100.0	46	100.0	68	100.0	49	100.0	63	100.0	577	100.0
Violents	34	21.9	10	15.6	11	15.9	16	25.4	14	30.4	18	26.5	9	18.4	30	47.6	142	24.6
Victims	48	31.0	15	23.4	15	21.7	20	31.7	19	41.3	24	35.3	8	16.3	29	46.0	178	30.8
Involved In Violence	58	37.4	20	31.3	20	29.0	26	41.3	23	50.0	32	47.1	14	28.6	36	57.1	229	39.7
Killers	1	0.6	1	1.6	0	0.0	5	7.9	4	8.7	2	2.9	2	4.1	4	6.3	19	3.3
Killed	5	3.2	1	1.6	3	4.3	2	3.2	2	4.3	1	1.5	0	0.0	3	4.8	17	2.9
Involved In Killing	5	3.2	2	3.1	3	4.3	7	11.1	5	10.9	3	4.4	2	4.1	7	11.1	34	5.9
Character V-Score		40.6		34.4		33.3		52.4		60.9		51.5		32.7		68.3		45.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.41		- 1.50		- 1.36		- 1.25		- 1.36		- 1.33		+ 1.13		+ 1.03		- 1.25
Killers : Killed		- 5.00		1.00		- 0.00		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.33		+ 1.12

TABLE 66: RISK RATIOS -- CHARACTERS IN CARTOONS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
ALL CHARACTERS																		
Total	273	100.0	75	100.0	127	100.0	100	100.0	91	100.0	91	100.0	91	100.0	77	100.0	927	100.0
Violents	191	70.0	33	44.0	52	40.9	35	21.0	40	44.0	52	56.2	43	47.3	60	77.9	507	54.7
Victims	216	79.1	52	69.3	85	66.9	57	57.0	68	74.7	67	73.6	71	78.0	64	83.1	680	73.4
Involved in Violence	240	87.9	58	77.3	99	78.0	65	65.0	74	81.3	77	84.6	78	85.7	69	89.6	760	82.0
Killers	4	1.5	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	1.0	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.8
Killed	4	1.5	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.2	1	1.1	1	1.1	0	0.0	9	1.0
Involved in Killing	6	2.2	1	1.3	1	0.8	1	1.0	3	3.3	1	1.1	1	1.1	0	0.0	14	1.5
Character V-Score		90.1		78.7		77.5		66.0		84.6		85.7		86.8		89.6		83.5
Violents : Victims		-1.13		-1.58		-1.73		-1.63		-1.70		-1.29		-1.65		-1.07		-1.35
Killers : Killed		1.00		-0.00		+0.00		+0.00		-2.00		-0.00		-0.00		0.00		-1.29
MEN																		
Total	234	100.0	56	100.0	99	100.0	80	100.0	73	100.0	78	100.0	75	100.0	68	100.0	767	100.0
Violents	165	70.5	29	51.8	40	40.4	31	38.7	35	47.9	45	57.7	35	46.7	55	80.9	435	56.8
Victims	188	80.3	43	76.8	71	71.7	51	63.7	55	75.3	57	73.1	53	70.7	57	83.8	585	76.3
Involved in Violence	208	88.9	48	85.7	78	78.8	57	71.2	60	82.2	66	84.6	67	89.3	62	91.2	643	83.7
Killers	4	1.7	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1.2	1	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.9
Killed	4	1.7	1	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.7	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	1.0
Involved in Killing	6	2.6	1	1.8	1	1.0	1	1.2	3	4.1	1	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	1.7
Character V-Score		90.6		87.5		77.8		72.5		86.3		85.9		89.3		91.2		85.4
Violents : Victims		-1.13		-1.48		-1.77		-1.65		-1.57		-1.27		-1.50		-1.04		-1.35
Killers : Killed		1.00		-0.00		+0.00		+0.00		-2.00		-0.00		0.00		0.00		-1.14
WOMEN																		
Total	25	100.0	17	100.0	28	100.0	18	100.0	16	100.0	5	100.0	7	100.0	4	100.0	120	100.0
Violents	15	60.0	3	17.6	10	35.7	4	22.2	4	25.0	3	60.0	3	42.9	0	0.0	42	35.0
Victims	16	64.0	7	41.2	17	60.7	5	27.8	11	68.8	3	60.0	4	57.1	2	50.0	65	54.2
Involved in Violence	22	88.0	8	47.1	21	75.0	7	38.9	12	75.0	4	80.0	6	85.7	2	50.0	82	68.3
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	1	0.8
Involved in Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	1	0.8
Character V-Score		88.0		47.1		75.0		38.9		75.0		80.0		100.0		50.0		69.2
Violents : Victims		-1.07		-2.33		-1.70		-1.25		-2.75		1.00		-1.33		-0.00		-1.55
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		-0.00		0.00		-0.00

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TABLE 40: NBC DAYTIME PROGRAMS (WEEKEND)

	67-68	69-71	1972	1973	1974	S1975	1975	S1976	1976	TOTAL
SAMPLES (100%)	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Programs (plays) analyzed	22	48	6	16	13	14	12	12	19	162
Program Hours Analyzed	5.0	12.9	3.5	7.7	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.9	53.5
Leading characters analyzed	42	99	24	67	37	38	37	28	41	413
PREVALENCE	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(%P) Programs containing violence	86.4	97.8	100.0	93.8	92.3	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0	95.1
Program Hours containing violence	85.0	[illegible]	100.0	93.5	88.9	100.0	100.0	80.0	100.0	93.9
RATE	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Number of violent episodes	106	318	50	89	67	67	101	79	144	1021
(R/P) Rate per all programs (plays)	4.8	6.9	6.3	5.6	5.2	4.8	8.4	6.6	7.6	6.3
(R/H) Rate per all hours	21.2	24.7	14.3	11.5	14.9	13.4	20.2	15.8	29.4	19.1
Duration of Violent Episodes (hrs)	--	--	--	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	2.3
ROLES (% OF LEADING CHARACTERS)	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violents (committing violence)	66.7	68.7	50.0	35.8	35.1	39.5	59.5	43.4	78.0	55.0
Victims (subjected to violence)	76.2	85.9	70.8	62.7	64.9	73.7	81.1	67.9	82.9	75.3
(%V) Any involvement in violence	81.0	91.9	70.8	74.6	67.6	86.8	94.6	71.4	90.2	82.8
Killers (committing fatal violence)	4.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
Killed (victims of lethal violence)	4.8	2.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
(%K) Any involvement in killing	9.5	3.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2
Violents : Victims Ratio	- 1.14	- 1.25	- 1.42	- 1.75	- 1.85	- 1.87	- 1.36	- 1.46	- 1.05	- 1.37
Killers : Killed Ratio	1.00	1.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	- 0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	- 1.50
INDICATORS OF VIOLENCE										
Program Score: PS=(%P)+2(R/P)+2(R/H)	138.4	161.0	141.1	127.9	132.4	136.4	157.2	128.1	173.9	145.9
Character V-Score: CS = (%V) + (%K)	90.5	94.9	75.0	74.6	67.6	89.5	94.6	71.4	90.2	85.0
Violence Index: VI = PS + CS	228.9	255.9	216.1	202.5	200.0	225.9	251.8	199.5	264.2	230.9

TABLE 50: HIGH RATIOS -- MARITAL STATUS FOR CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S 1975		1975		S 1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	502	100.0	176	100.0	124	100.0	171	100.0	105	100.0	150	100.0	85	100.0	144	100.0	1457	100.0
Violents	261	52.0	78	44.3	38	30.6	70	40.9	39	37.1	63	42.0	33	38.8	86	59.7	668	45.8
Victims	293	58.4	96	54.5	61	49.2	89	52.0	65	61.9	85	56.7	49	57.6	94	65.3	832	57.1
Involved in Violence	342	68.1	111	63.1	73	58.9	100	58.5	70	66.7	102	68.0	54	63.5	109	75.7	961	66.0
Killers	33	6.6	11	6.2	4	3.2	19	11.1	7	6.7	9	6.0	7	8.2	10	6.9	100	6.9
Killed	17	3.4	7	4.0	4	3.2	6	3.5	4	3.8	4	2.7	5	5.9	7	4.9	54	3.7
Involved in Killing	45	9.0	14	8.0	7	5.6	22	12.9	8	7.6	11	7.3	10	11.8	14	9.7	131	9.0
Character V-Score		77.1		71.0		64.5		73.7		74.3		75.3		75.3		85.4		75.3
Violents : Victims		- 1.12		- 1.23		- 1.61		- 1.27		- 1.67		- 1.35		- 1.48		- 1.09		- 1.25
Killers : Killed		+ 1.94		+ 1.57		1.00		+ 3.17		+ 1.75		+ 2.25		+ 1.40		+ 1.43		+ 1.85
MARRIED																		
Total	222	100.0	92	100.0	105	100.0	80	100.0	72	100.0	84	100.0	73	100.0	63	100.0	791	100.0
Violents	65	29.3	23	25.0	22	21.0	31	38.7	30	41.7	25	29.8	18	24.7	28	44.4	242	30.6
Victims	88	39.6	33	35.9	32	30.5	34	42.5	34	47.2	33	39.3	20	27.4	30	47.6	304	38.4
Involved in Violence	99	44.6	40	43.5	38	36.2	44	55.0	40	55.6	40	47.6	24	32.9	37	58.7	362	45.7
Killers	12	5.4	8	8.7	4	3.8	9	11.2	8	11.1	8	9.5	3	4.1	6	9.5	58	7.3
Killed	4	1.8	6	6.5	3	2.9	10	12.5	4	5.6	7	8.3	3	4.1	0	0.0	37	4.7
Involved in Killing	13	5.9	11	12.0	6	5.7	17	21.2	9	12.5	13	15.5	5	6.8	6	9.5	80	10.1
Character V-Score		50.5		55.4		41.5		76.2		68.1		63.1		39.7		68.3		56.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.35		- 1.43		- 1.45		- 1.10		- 1.13		- 1.32		- 1.11		- 1.07		- 1.26
Killers : Killed		+ 3.00		+ 1.33		+ 1.33		- 1.11		+ 2.00		+ 1.14		1.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.57
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	101	100.0	32	100.0	129	100.0	95	100.0	105	100.0	130	100.0	143	100.0	84	100.0	818	100.0
Violents	75	74.3	17	53.1	64	49.6	40	42.1	62	59.0	69	53.1	83	58.0	63	75.0	473	57.8
Victims	80	79.2	20	62.5	80	62.0	54	56.8	74	70.5	78	60.0	94	65.7	64	76.2	544	66.5
Involved in Violence	87	86.1	24	75.0	88	68.2	62	65.3	86	81.9	94	72.3	113	79.0	72	85.7	626	76.5
Killers	4	4.0	4	12.5	13	10.1	6	6.3	14	13.3	6	4.6	10	7.0	3	3.6	60	7.3
Killed	4	4.0	1	3.1	5	3.9	4	4.2	6	5.7	3	2.3	3	2.1	2	2.4	28	3.4
Involved in Killing	5	5.0	4	12.5	14	10.9	8	8.4	17	16.2	9	6.9	13	9.1	4	4.8	74	9.0
Character V-Score		91.1		87.5		78.8		73.7		90.1		78.5		88.0		90.5		85.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.07		- 1.18		- 1.25		- 1.35		- 1.19		- 1.13		- 1.13		- 1.02		- 1.15
Killers : Killed		1.00		+ 4.00		+ 2.60		+ 1.50		+ 2.33		+ 2.00		+ 3.33		+ 1.50		+ 2.14

TABLE 31: RISK RATIOS -- MARITAL STATUS FOR MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	407	100.0	133	100.0	83	100.0	126	100.0	78	100.0	112	100.0	64	100.0	101	100.0	1104	100.0
Violents	229	56.3	70	52.6	26	31.3	59	46.8	31	39.7	53	47.3	29	45.3	64	63.4	561	50.8
Victims	251	61.7	79	59.4	44	53.0	73	57.9	48	61.5	67	59.8	41	64.1	69	68.3	672	60.9
Involved In Violence	289	71.0	92	69.2	49	59.0	84	66.7	52	66.7	81	72.3	44	68.8	80	79.2	771	69.8
Killers	33	8.1	10	7.5	4	4.8	17	13.5	5	6.4	8	7.1	5	7.8	7	6.9	89	8.1
Killed	13	3.2	6	4.5	2	2.4	6	4.8	3	3.8	4	3.6	5	7.8	5	5.0	44	4.0
Involved In Killing	41	10.1	12	9.0	5	6.0	20	15.9	6	7.7	10	8.9	8	12.5	9	8.9	111	10.1
Character V-Score		81.1		78.2		65.1		82.5		74.4		81.2		81.3		88.1		79.9
Violents : Victims		- 1.10		- 1.13		- 1.69		- 1.24		- 1.55		- 1.26		- 1.41		- 1.08		- 1.20
Killers : Killed		+ 2.54		+ 1.67		+ 2.00		+ 2.83		+ 1.67		+ 2.00		1.00		+ 1.40		+ 2.02
MARRIED																		
Total	141	100.0	58	100.0	65	100.0	54	100.0	44	100.0	58	100.0	48	100.0	42	100.0	510	100.0
Violents	50	35.5	18	31.0	17	26.2	24	44.4	23	52.3	19	32.8	15	31.2	21	50.0	187	36.7
Victims	67	47.5	28	48.3	24	36.9	28	51.9	25	56.8	26	44.8	18	37.5	25	59.5	241	47.3
Involved In Violence	74	52.5	31	53.4	28	43.1	34	63.0	28	63.6	30	51.7	20	41.7	29	69.0	274	53.7
Killers	11	7.8	8	13.8	4	6.2	6	11.1	6	13.6	8	13.8	3	6.2	5	11.9	51	10.0
Killed	3	2.1	6	10.3	2	3.1	8	14.8	3	6.8	6	10.3	2	4.2	0	0.0	30	5.9
Involved In Killing	12	8.5	11	19.0	5	7.7	12	22.2	6	13.6	12	20.7	4	8.3	5	11.9	67	13.1
Character V-Score		61.0		72.4		50.0		85.2		77.3		72.4		50.0		81.0		66.9
Violents : Victims		- 1.34		- 1.56		- 1.41		- 1.17		- 1.09		- 1.37		- 1.20		- 1.19		- 1.29
Killers : Killed		+ 3.67		+ 1.33		+ 2.00		- 1.33		+ 2.00		+ 1.33		+ 1.50		+ 0.00		+ 1.70
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	81	100.0	26	100.0	112	100.0	83	100.0	96	100.0	113	100.0	127	100.0	76	100.0	714	100.0
Violents	61	75.3	16	61.5	58	51.8	38	45.8	58	60.4	59	52.2	73	57.5	57	75.0	420	58.8
Victims	65	80.2	18	69.2	71	63.4	50	60.2	68	70.8	69	61.1	88	69.3	58	76.3	487	68.2
Involved In Violence	71	87.7	22	84.6	80	71.4	58	69.9	79	82.3	82	72.6	101	79.5	66	86.8	559	78.3
Killers	3	3.7	4	15.4	13	11.6	6	7.2	14	14.6	5	4.4	10	7.9	3	3.9	58	8.1
Killed	4	4.9	1	3.8	5	4.5	4	4.8	6	6.2	3	2.7	3	2.4	1	1.3	27	3.8
Involved In Killing	4	4.9	4	15.4	14	12.5	8	9.6	17	17.7	8	7.1	13	10.2	3	3.9	71	9.9
Character V-Score		92.6		100.0		83.9		73.5		100.0		79.6		69.6		90.8		88.2
Violents : Victims		- 1.07		- 1.13		- 1.22		- 1.32		- 1.17		- 1.17		- 1.21		- 1.02		- 1.16
Killers : Killed		- 1.33		+ 4.00		+ 2.60		+ 1.50		+ 2.33		+ 1.67		+ 3.33		+ 3.00		+ 2.15

TABLE 52: RISK RATIOS -- MARITAL STATUS FOR WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UNMARRIED, UNKNOWN																		
Total	93	100.0	43	100.0	41	100.0	45	100.0	26	100.0	35	100.0	21	100.0	42	100.0	346	100.0
Violents	31	33.3	8	18.6	12	29.3	11	24.4	8	30.8	8	22.9	4	19.0	21	50.0	103	29.8
Victims	40	43.0	17	39.5	17	41.5	16	35.6	16	61.5	16	45.7	8	38.1	24	57.1	154	44.5
Involved In Violence	51	54.8	19	44.2	24	58.5	20	44.4	17	65.4	19	54.3	10	47.6	28	66.7	188	54.3
Killers	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0	2	4.4	2	7.7	1	2.9	2	9.5	3	7.1	11	3.2
Killed	4	4.3	1	2.3	2	4.9	0	0.0	1	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	4.8	10	2.9
Involved In Killing	4	4.3	2	4.7	2	4.9	2	4.4	2	7.7	1	2.9	2	9.5	5	11.9	20	5.8
Character V-Score		59.1		48.8		63.4		48.9		73.1		57.1		57.1		78.6		60.1
Violents : Victims		- 1.29		- 2.13		- 1.42		- 1.45		- 2.00		- 2.00		- 2.00		- 1.14		- 1.50
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		1.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.50		+ 1.10
MARRIED																		
Total	81	100.0	34	100.0	41	100.0	26	100.0	28	100.0	26	100.0	25	100.0	21	100.0	282	100.0
Violents	15	18.5	5	14.7	5	12.2	7	26.9	7	25.0	6	23.1	3	12.0	7	33.3	55	19.5
Victims	21	25.9	5	14.7	8	19.5	6	23.1	9	32.1	7	26.9	2	8.0	5	23.8	63	22.3
Involved In Violence	25	30.9	9	26.5	10	24.4	10	38.5	12	42.9	10	38.5	4	16.0	8	38.1	88	31.2
Killers	1	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	11.5	2	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.8	7	2.5
Killed	1	1.2	0	0.0	1	2.4	2	7.7	1	3.6	1	3.8	1	4.0	0	0.0	7	2.5
Involved In Killing	1	1.2	0	0.0	1	2.4	5	19.2	3	10.7	1	3.8	1	4.0	1	4.8	13	4.6
Character V-Score		32.1		26.5		26.8		57.7		53.6		42.3		20.0		42.9		35.8
Violents : Victims		- 1.40		1.00		- 1.60		+ 1.17		- 1.29		- 1.17		+ 1.50		+ 1.40		- 1.15
Killers : Killed		1.00		0.00		0.00		+ 1.50		+ 2.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		1.00
CANNOT CODE MARITAL STATUS																		
Total	6	100.0	4	100.0	15	100.0	10	100.0	8	100.0	12	100.0	10	100.0	4	100.0	69	100.0
Violents	3	50.0	0	0.0	4	26.7	2	20.0	3	37.5	7	58.3	5	50.0	2	50.0	26	37.7
Victims	3	50.0	0	0.0	7	46.7	3	30.0	5	62.5	4	33.3	2	20.0	2	50.0	26	37.7
Involved In Violence	4	66.7	0	0.0	7	46.7	3	30.0	6	75.0	7	58.3	6	60.0	2	50.0	35	50.7
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.4
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	1	1.4
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.3	0	0.0	1	25.0	2	2.9
Character V-Score		66.7		0.0		46.7		30.0		75.0		66.7		60.0		75.0		53.6
Violents : Victims		1.00		0.00		- 1.75		- 1.50		- 1.67		+ 1.75		+ 2.50		1.00		1.00
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		- 0.00		1.00

TABLE 53: RISK RATIOS -- SOCIAL CLASS FOR ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	76	100.0	26	100.0	22	100.0	25	100.0	23	100.0	28	100.0	17	100.0	10	100.0	227	100.0
Violents	25	32.9	11	42.3	7	31.8	9	36.0	10	43.5	11	39.3	10	58.8	5	50.0	88	38.8
Victims	39	51.3	11	42.3	9	40.9	14	56.0	16	69.6	18	64.3	10	58.8	5	50.0	122	53.7
Involved In Violence	42	55.3	15	57.7	11	50.0	15	60.0	18	78.3	19	67.9	11	64.7	6	60.0	137	60.4
Killers	4	5.3	3	11.5	2	9.1	5	20.0	4	17.4	3	10.7	2	11.8	2	20.0	25	11.0
Killed	5	6.6	3	11.5	1	4.5	1	4.0	3	13.0	4	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	17	7.5
Involved In Killing	6	7.9	4	15.4	3	13.6	5	20.0	5	21.7	7	25.0	2	11.8	2	20.0	34	15.0
Character V-Score		63.2		73.1		63.6		80.0		100.0		92.9		76.5		80.0		75.3
Violents : Victims		- 1.56		1.00		- 1.29		- 1.56		- 1.60		- 1.64		1.00		1.00		- 1.39
Killers : Killed		- 1.25		1.00		+ 2.00		+ 5.00		+ 1.33		- 1.33		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.47
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	736	100.0	266	100.0	323	100.0	303	100.0	248	100.0	314	100.0	275	100.0	270	100.0	2735	100.0
Violents	367	49.9	102	38.3	110	34.1	127	41.9	117	47.2	135	43.0	122	44.4	164	60.7	1244	45.5
Victims	413	56.1	133	50.0	154	47.7	156	51.5	150	60.5	164	52.2	148	53.8	174	64.4	1492	54.6
Involved In Violence	475	64.5	153	57.5	179	55.4	188	62.0	170	68.5	202	64.3	174	63.3	202	74.8	1743	63.7
Killers	44	6.0	20	7.5	17	5.3	29	9.6	25	10.1	19	6.1	18	6.5	14	5.2	186	6.8
Killed	17	2.3	11	4.1	10	3.1	18	5.9	11	4.4	8	2.5	10	3.6	8	3.0	93	3.4
Involved In Killing	54	7.3	25	9.4	22	6.8	41	13.5	29	11.7	24	7.6	25	9.1	19	7.0	239	8.7
Character V-Score		71.9		66.9		62.2		75.6		80.2		72.0		72.4		81.9		72.5
Violents : Victims		- 1.13		- 1.30		- 1.40		- 1.23		- 1.28		- 1.21		- 1.21		- 1.06		- 1.20
Killers : Killed		+ 2.59		+ 1.82		+ 1.70		+ 1.61		+ 2.27		+ 2.38		+ 1.80		+ 1.75		+ 2.00
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	13	100.0	8	100.0	14	100.0	18	100.0	11	100.0	22	100.0	8	100.0	11	100.0	105	100.0
Violents	9	69.2	5	62.5	7	50.0	5	27.8	4	36.4	11	50.0	2	25.0	8	72.7	51	48.6
Victims	9	69.2	5	62.5	10	71.4	7	38.9	7	63.6	14	63.6	5	62.5	9	81.8	66	62.9
Involved In Violence	11	84.6	7	87.5	10	71.4	7	38.9	8	72.7	15	68.2	5	62.5	10	90.9	73	69.5
Killers	1	7.7	0	0.0	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5	0	0.0	3	27.3	7	6.7
Killed	3	23.1	0	0.0	1	7.1	1	5.6	0	0.0	2	9.1	1	12.5	1	9.1	9	8.6
Involved In Killing	3	23.1	0	0.0	2	14.3	1	5.6	0	0.0	2	9.1	1	12.5	3	27.3	12	11.4
Character V-Score		107.7		87.5		85.7		44.4		72.7		77.3		75.0		118.2		81.0
Violents : Victims		1.00		1.00		- 1.43		- 1.40		- 1.75		- 1.27		- 2.50		- 1.13		- 1.29
Killers : Killed		- 3.00		0.00		+ 2.00		- 0.00		0.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		+ 3.00		- 1.29

TABLE 54: RISK RATIOS -- SOCIAL CLASS FOR MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	54	100.0	20	100.0	15	100.0	14	100.0	15	100.0	18	100.0	15	100.0	7	100.0	158	100.0
Violents	23	42.6	10	50.0	6	40.0	7	50.0	7	46.7	8	44.4	9	60.0	4	57.1	74	46.8
Victims	30	55.6	10	50.0	8	53.3	10	71.4	13	86.7	14	77.8	9	60.0	3	42.9	97	61.4
Involved In Violence	33	61.1	13	65.0	10	66.7	10	71.4	13	86.7	14	77.8	10	66.7	4	57.1	107	67.7
Killers	3	5.6	3	15.0	2	13.3	4	28.6	3	20.0	2	11.1	2	13.3	1	14.3	20	12.7
Killed	2	3.7	3	15.0	1	6.7	1	7.1	2	13.3	4	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	13	8.2
Involved In Killing	3	5.6	4	20.0	3	20.0	4	28.6	3	20.0	6	33.3	2	13.3	1	14.3	26	16.5
Character V-Score		86.7		85.0		86.7		100.0		106.7		111.1		80.0		71.4		84.2
Violents : Victims		- 1.30		1.00		- 1.33		- 1.43		- 1.86		- 1.75		1.00		+ 1.33		- 1.31
Killers : Killed		+ 1.50		1.00		+ 2.00		+ 4.00		+ 1.50		- 2.00		+ 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.54
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	564	100.0	193	100.0	231	100.0	238	100.0	194	100.0	247	100.0	216	100.0	202	100.0	2085	100.0
Violents	308	54.6	90	46.6	88	38.1	110	46.2	102	52.6	113	45.7	106	49.1	130	64.4	1047	50.2
Victims	345	61.2	113	58.5	121	52.4	135	56.7	123	63.4	136	55.1	133	61.6	140	69.3	1246	59.8
Involved In Violence	391	69.3	128	66.3	137	59.3	160	67.2	140	72.2	167	67.6	150	69.4	161	79.7	1434	68.8
Killers	43	7.6	19	9.8	17	7.4	25	10.5	22	11.3	18	7.3	16	7.4	11	5.4	171	8.2
Killed	16	2.8	10	5.2	7	3.0	16	6.7	10	5.2	7	2.8	9	4.2	5	2.5	80	3.8
Involved In Killing	52	9.2	23	11.9	19	8.2	35	14.7	26	13.4	22	8.9	22	10.2	13	6.4	212	10.2
Character V-Score		78.5		78.2		67.5		81.9		85.6		76.5		79.6		86.1		78.9
Violents : Victims		- 1.12		- 1.26		- 1.38		- 1.23		- 1.21		- 1.20		- 1.25		- 1.08		- 1.19
Killers : Killed		+ 2.69		+ 1.90		+ 2.43		+ 1.56		+ 2.20		+ 2.57		+ 1.78		+ 2.20		+ 2.14
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	11	100.0	4	100.0	14	100.0	11	100.0	9	100.0	18	100.0	8	100.0	10	100.0	85	100.0
Violents	9	81.8	4	100.0	7	50.0	4	36.4	3	33.3	10	55.6	2	25.0	8	80.0	47	55.3
Victims	8	72.7	2	50.0	10	71.4	6	54.5	5	55.6	12	66.7	5	62.5	9	90.0	57	67.1
Involved In Violence	10	90.9	4	100.0	10	71.4	6	54.5	6	66.7	12	66.7	5	62.5	10	100.0	63	74.1
Killers	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.6	0	0.0	3	30.0	7	8.2
Killed	2	18.2	0	0.0	1	7.1	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	11.1	1	12.5	1	10.0	8	9.4
Involved In Killing	2	18.2	0	0.0	2	14.3	1	9.1	0	0.0	2	11.1	1	12.5	3	30.0	11	12.9
Character V-Score		109.1		100.0		85.7		63.6		66.7		77.8		75.0		130.0		87.1
Violents : Victims		+ 1.13		+ 2.00		- 1.43		- 1.50		- 1.67		- 1.20		- 2.50		- 1.13		- 1.21
Killers : Killed		- 2.00		0.00		+ 2.00		- 0.00		0.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		+ 3.00		- 1.14

TABLE .55: RISK RATIOS -- SOCIAL CLASS FOR WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UPPER CLASS																		
Total	22	100.0	6	100.0	7	100.0	11	100.0	8	100.0	10	100.0	2	100.0	3	100.0	69	100.0
Violents	2	9.1	1	16.7	1	14.3	2	18.2	3	37.5	3	30.0	1	50.0	1	33.3	14	20.3
Victims	9	40.9	1	16.7	1	14.3	4	36.4	3	37.5	4	40.0	1	50.0	2	66.7	25	36.2
Involved In Violence	9	40.9	2	33.3	1	14.3	5	45.5	5	62.5	5	50.0	1	50.0	2	66.7	30	43.5
Killers	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	9.1	1	12.5	1	10.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	5	7.2
Killed	3	13.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	5.8
Involved In Killing	3	13.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	9.1	2	25.0	1	10.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	8	11.6
Character V-Score		54.5		33.3		14.3		54.5		87.5		60.0		50.0		100.0		55.1
Violents : Victims		- 4.50		1.00		1.00		- 2.00		1.00		- 1.33		1.00		- 2.00		- 1.79
Killers : Killed		- 3.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		1.00		+ 0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 1.25
MIXED CLASS																		
Total	156	100.0	71	100.0	90	100.0	63	100.0	52	100.0	59	100.0	54	100.0	63	100.0	608	100.0
Violents	47	30.1	11	15.5	20	22.2	17	27.0	14	26.9	17	28.8	11	20.4	29	46.0	166	27.3
Victims	54	34.6	18	25.4	31	34.4	20	31.7	25	48.1	21	35.6	11	20.4	29	46.0	209	34.4
Involved In Violence	70	44.9	23	32.4	40	44.4	27	42.9	28	53.8	28	47.5	19	35.2	36	57.1	271	44.6
Killers	0	0.0	1	1.4	0	0.0	4	6.3	3	5.8	1	1.7	2	3.7	3	4.8	14	2.3
Killed	1	0.6	1	1.4	3	3.3	2	3.2	1	1.9	1	1.7	1	1.9	3	4.8	13	2.1
Involved In Killing	1	0.6	2	2.8	3	3.3	6	9.5	3	5.8	2	3.4	3	5.6	6	9.5	26	4.3
Character V-Score		45.5		35.2		47.8		52.4		59.6		50.8		40.7		66.7		48.8
Violents : Victims		- 1.15		- 1.64		- 1.55		- 1.18		- 1.79		- 1.24		1.00		1.00		- 1.26
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		1.00		- 0.00		+ 2.00		+ 3.00		1.00		+ 2.00		1.00		+ 1.08
LOWER CLASS																		
Total	2	100.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	7	100.0	2	100.0	4	100.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	20	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	1	50.0	1	25.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	20.0
Victims	1	50.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	2	100.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	45.0
Involved In Violence	1	50.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	1	14.3	2	100.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	50.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Involved In Killing	1	50.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Character V-Score		100.0		75.0		0.0		14.3		100.0		75.0		0.0		0.0		55.0
Violents : Victims		- 0.00		- 3.00		0.00		1.00		- 2.00		- 2.00		0.00		0.00		- 2.25
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 0.00

TABLE 56: RISK RATIOS -- NATIONALITY FOR ALL CHARACTERS IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. NATIONALITY																		
Total	576	100.0	243	100.0	296	100.0	283	100.0	248	100.0	299	100.0	230	100.0	210	100.0	2385	100.0
Violents	233	40.5	94	38.7	88	29.7	109	38.5	112	45.2	122	40.8	100	43.5	115	54.8	973	40.8
Victims	267	46.4	114	46.9	129	43.6	140	49.5	151	60.9	153	51.2	112	48.7	118	56.2	1184	49.6
Involved In Violence	318	55.2	133	54.7	148	50.0	165	58.3	168	67.7	181	60.5	134	58.3	142	67.6	1389	58.2
Killers	35	6.1	18	7.4	19	6.4	30	10.6	28	11.3	23	7.7	20	8.7	17	8.1	190	8.0
Killed	14	2.4	9	3.7	10	3.4	18	6.4	12	4.8	13	4.3	11	4.8	5	2.4	92	3.9
Involved In Killing	45	7.8	22	9.1	24	8.1	42	14.8	31	12.5	32	10.7	28	12.2	20	9.5	244	10.2
Character V-Score		63.0		63.8		58.1		73.1		80.2		71.2		70.4		77.1		68.4
Violents : Victims		- 1.15		- 1.21		- 1.47		- 1.28		- 1.35		- 1.25		- 1.12		- 1.03		- 1.22
Killers : Killed		+ 2.50		+ 2.00		+ 1.90		+ 1.67		+ 2.33		+ 1.77		+ 1.82		+ 3.40		+ 2.07
OTHER NATIONALITY																		
Total	114	100.0	36	100.0	13	100.0	28	100.0	9	100.0	20	100.0	13	100.0	11	100.0	244	100.0
Violents	67	58.8	13	36.1	7	53.8	16	57.1	2	22.2	5	25.0	6	46.2	6	54.5	122	50.0
Victims	86	75.4	19	52.8	12	92.3	13	46.4	4	44.4	13	65.0	6	46.2	10	90.9	163	66.8
Involved In Violence	90	78.9	24	66.7	12	92.3	19	67.9	5	55.6	14	70.0	8	61.5	10	90.9	182	74.6
Killers	9	7.9	5	13.9	0	0.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	18.2	19	7.8
Killed	7	6.1	5	13.9	0	0.0	1	3.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	27.3	16	6.6
Involved In Killing	12	10.5	7	19.4	0	0.0	4	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	27.3	26	10.7
Character V-Score		89.5		86.1		92.3		82.1		55.6		70.0		61.5		118.2		85.2
Violents : Victims		- 1.28		- 1.46		- 1.71		+ 1.23		- 2.00		- 2.60		1.00		- 1.67		- 1.34
Killers : Killed		+ 1.29		1.00		0.00		+ 3.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		- 1.50		+ 1.19
CANNOT CODE NATIONALITY																		
Total	135	100.0	21	100.0	50	100.0	35	100.0	25	100.0	45	100.0	57	100.0	70	100.0	438	100.0
Violents	101	74.8	11	52.4	29	58.0	16	45.7	17	68.0	30	66.7	28	49.1	56	80.0	288	65.8
Victims	108	80.0	16	76.2	32	64.0	24	68.6	18	72.0	30	66.7	45	78.9	60	85.7	333	76.0
Involved In Violence	120	88.9	18	85.7	40	80.0	26	74.3	23	92.0	41	91.1	48	84.2	66	94.3	382	87.2
Killers	5	3.7	0	0.0	2	4.0	1	2.9	1	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	2.1
Killed	4	3.0	0	0.0	2	4.0	1	2.9	2	8.0	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	1.4	11	2.5
Involved In Killing	6	4.4	0	0.0	3	6.0	1	2.9	3	12.0	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	1.4	15	3.4
Character V-Score		93.3		85.7		86.0		77.1		104.0		93.3		84.2		95.7		90.6
Violents : Victims		- 1.07		- 1.45		- 1.10		- 1.50		- 1.06		1.00		- 1.61		- 1.07		- 1.16
Killers : Killed		+ 1.25		0.00		1.00		1.00		- 2.00		- 0.00		0.00		- 0.00		- 1.22

TABLE 57: RISK RATIOS -- NATIONALITY FOR MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. NATIONALITY																		
Total	419	100.0	173	100.0	210	100.0	217	100.0	180	100.0	231	100.0	182	100.0	149	100.0	1780	100.0
Violents	197	47.0	84	48.6	74	35.2	93	42.9	90	50.0	104	45.0	91	50.0	87	58.4	820	46.6
Victims	220	52.5	95	54.9	101	48.1	118	54.4	121	67.2	126	54.5	103	56.6	91	61.1	977	54.9
Involved in Violence	258	61.6	109	63.0	116	55.2	130	59.9	134	74.4	148	64.1	119	65.4	108	72.5	1120	63.6
Killers	35	8.4	17	9.8	19	9.0	26	12.0	26	14.4	21	9.1	14	7.7	13	8.7	173	9.7
Killed	10	2.4	8	4.6	8	3.8	16	7.4	10	5.6	12	5.2	10	5.5	3	2.0	77	4.3
Involved in Killing	41	9.8	20	11.6	22	10.5	36	16.6	28	15.6	25	10.8	23	12.6	14	9.4	213	12.0
Character V-Score		69.7		78.8		65.7		80.2		84.7		78.8		79.1		81.9		76.6
Violents : Victims		= 1.12		= 1.13		= 1.36		= 1.27		= 1.34		= 1.21		= 1.13		= 1.05		= 1.19
Killers : Killed		= 3.50		= 2.13		= 2.38		= 1.63		= 2.60		= 1.75		= 1.40		= 4.33		= 2.25
OTHER NATIONALITY																		
Total	91	100.0	28	100.0	9	100.0	20	100.0	8	100.0	15	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0	183	100.0
Violents	58	63.7	12	42.9	6	66.7	13	65.0	2	25.0	4	26.7	4	44.4	2	66.7	101	55.2
Victims	67	73.6	18	64.3	9	100.0	11	55.0	4	50.0	11	73.3	5	55.6	3	100.0	128	69.9
Involved in Violence	75	82.4	22	78.6	9	100.0	16	80.0	5	62.5	12	80.0	6	66.7	3	100.0	148	80.9
Killers	8	8.8	5	17.9	0	0.0	2	10.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	17	9.3
Killed	6	6.6	5	17.9	0	0.0	1	5.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	13	7.1
Involved in Killing	11	12.1	7	25.0	0	0.0	3	15.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	33.3	24	13.1
Character V-Score		84.5		103.6		100.0		90.0		62.5		80.0		66.7		100.0		83.7
Violents : Victims		= 1.16		= 1.50		= 1.50		= 1.18		= 2.00		= 2.75		= 1.25		= 1.50		= 1.32
Killers : Killed		= 1.33		1.00		0.00		= 2.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		= 1.00		= 1.13
CANNOT CODE NATIONALITY																		
Total	109	100.0	16	100.0	41	100.0	26	100.0	21	100.0	37	100.0	48	100.0	61	100.0	359	100.0
Violents	85	78.0	8	50.0	21	51.2	15	57.7	15	71.4	23	62.2	22	45.8	49	80.3	238	66.3
Victims	91	83.5	12	75.0	27	65.9	22	84.6	16	76.2	25	67.6	39	81.3	52	85.2	284	79.1
Involved in Violence	101	92.7	14	87.5	32	78.0	23	88.5	20	95.2	33	89.2	40	83.3	58	95.1	321	89.4
Killers	4	3.7	0	0.0	2	4.9	1	3.8	1	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	2.2
Killed	4	3.7	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	3.8	2	9.5	1	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	2.5
Involved in Killing	5	4.6	0	0.0	2	4.9	1	3.8	3	14.3	1	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	3.3
Character V-Score		87.2		87.5		82.9		92.3		109.5		91.9		83.3		88.1		90.8
Violents : Victims		= 1.07		= 1.50		= 1.29		= 1.47		= 1.07		= 1.09		= 1.77		= 1.06		= 1.19
Killers : Killed		= 1.00		0.00		= 2.00		1.00		= 2.00		= 0.00		0.00		0.00		= 1.13

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TABLE 63: RISK RATIOS -- TYPE FOR MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-72 N	69-72 %	1973 N	1973 %	1973 N	1973 %	1974 N	1974 %	S1975 N	S1975 %	1975 N	1975 %	S1976 N	S1976 %	1976 N	1976 %	TOTAL N	TOTAL %
GOOD (HEROES)																		
Total	331	100.0	125	100.0	160	100.0	149	100.0	131	100.0	163	100.0	119	100.0	132	100.0	1310	100.0
Violents	156	47.1	55	44.0	55	34.4	64	43.0	56	42.7	65	39.9	53	44.5	75	56.8	580	44.3
Victims	186	56.2	68	54.4	77	48.1	62	51.0	75	57.3	84	51.5	61	54.0	81	61.4	722	55.1
Involved in Violence	214	64.7	81	64.8	88	55.0	96	64.4	87	66.4	103	63.2	78	65.5	99	75.0	846	64.6
Killers	16	4.8	4	3.2	8	5.0	17	11.4	9	6.9	6	3.7	4	3.4	3	2.3	68	5.2
Killed	1	0.3	3	2.4	3	1.9	6	4.0	0	0.0	2	1.2	0	0.0	2	1.5	17	1.3
Involved in Killing	16	4.8	7	5.6	8	5.0	21	14.1	9	6.9	8	4.9	4	3.4	5	3.8	79	6.0
Character V-Score		69.5		70.4		60.0		78.5		73.3		68.1		68.9		78.8		70.6
Violents : Victims		-1.19		-1.21		-1.40		-1.29		-1.34		-1.29		-1.15		-1.08		-1.24
Killers : Killed		+16.00		+1.33		+2.66		+2.83		+0.00		+3.00		+0.00		+1.50		+4.00
MIXED TYPE																		
Total	178	100.0	53	100.0	67	100.0	75	100.0	54	100.0	78	100.0	91	100.0	53	100.0	629	100.0
Violents	85	48.1	18	34.0	8	10.1	34	44.7	31	57.4	34	43.6	26	28.6	38	71.7	285	45.3
Victims	100	56.5	23	43.4	21	26.7	42	55.3	37	68.5	45	57.7	50	54.9	43	80.7	357	56.8
Involved in Violence	119	66.5	27	50.9	33	49.3	50	66.7	41	75.9	51	65.4	56	61.7	45	84.9	413	65.7
Killers	12	6.7	6	11.3	0	0.0	4	5.3	4	7.4	3	3.8	2	2.2	5	9.4	35	5.7
Killed	6	3.4	5	9.4	1	2.1	5	6.6	5	9.3	6	7.7	4	4.4	1	1.9	33	5.2
Involved in Killing	16	9.0	7	13.2	1	2.1	7	9.2	8	14.8	7	9.0	5	5.5	5	9.4	56	8.9
Character V-Score		75.6		64.2		49.5		75.2		90.7		74.4		69.2		98.3		74.6
Violents : Victims		-1.33		-1.28		-2.33		-1.24		-1.19		-1.30		-1.23		-1.13		-1.25
Killers : Killed		+2.00		+1.20		-0.00		-1.25		-1.25		-2.00		-2.00		+5.00		+1.06
BAD (VILLAINS)																		
Total	120	100.0	30	100.0	53	100.0	37	100.0	33	100.0	40	100.0	29	100.0	25	100.0	369	100.0
Violents	98	81.7	23	76.5	37	69.8	22	59.5	25	75.8	30	75.0	26	89.7	20	80.0	281	77.6
Victims	91	75.8	24	67.2	41	77.4	27	73.0	20	67.5	33	78.6	26	89.6	20	80.0	311	80.2
Involved in Violence	101	84.2	27	90.0	47	88.7	29	78.4	31	93.9	38	92.5	29	100.0	21	84.0	344	88.7
Killers	16	15.0	12	20.0	12	22.6	8	21.6	12	36.4	12	28.6	12	41.4	7	28.0	94	24.2
Killed	12	10.0	5	12.5	5	9.4	7	18.9	7	21.2	5	11.9	6	20.7	3	8.0	51	13.1
Involved in Killing	25	20.8	13	33.3	16	30.2	12	32.4	12	36.4	15	35.7	16	55.2	7	28.0	114	29.4
Character V-Score		105.0		128.3		118.1		110.8		130.3		128.6		155.2		108.0		118.0
Violents : Victims		+1.08		-1.10		-1.11		-1.23		-1.10		-1.10		[illegible]		+1.00		-1.03
Killers : Killed		+1.40		+2.40		+2.40		+1.14		+1.71		+2.40		+2.00		+2.33		+1.84

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TABLE 63: RISK RATIOS -- TYPE FOR MEN IN ALL PROGRAMS CONTINUED

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CANNOT CODE TYPE																		
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Victims	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Violence	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		0.0		0.0		0.0		100.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		100.0
Violents : Victims		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

TABLE 64: RISK RATIOS -- TYPE FOR WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
'GOOD' (HEROES)																		
Total	110	100.0	54	100.0	62	100.0	46	100.0	46	100.0	42	100.0	32	100.0	41	100.0	433	100.0
Violents	26	23.6	8	14.8	11	17.7	8	17.4	8	17.4	11	26.2	5	15.6	17	41.5	94	21.7
Victims	37	33.6	17	31.5	24	38.7	11	23.9	18	39.1	11	26.2	5	15.6	15	36.6	138	31.9
Involved In Violence	47	42.7	20	37.0	28	45.2	15	32.6	21	45.7	19	45.2	9	28.1	18	43.9	177	40.9
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	7.3	4	0.9
Killed	2	1.8	1	1.9	2	3.2	1	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	1.4
Involved In Killing	2	1.8	1	1.9	2	3.2	2	4.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	7.3	10	2.3
Character V-Score		44.5		38.9		48.4		37.0		45.7		45.2		28.1		51.2		43.2
Violents : Victims		- 1.42		- 2.13		- 2.18		- 1.38		- 2.25		1.00		1.00		+ 1.13		- 1.47
Killers : Killed		- 0.00		- 0.00		- 0.00		1.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		+ 0.00		- 1.50
MIXED TYPE																		
Total	59	100.0	24	100.0	20	100.0	28	100.0	9	100.0	25	100.0	20	100.0	19	100.0	204	100.0
Violents	14	23.7	3	12.5	5	25.0	8	28.6	5	55.6	5	20.0	4	20.0	9	47.4	53	26.0
Victims	19	32.2	4	16.7	4	20.0	10	35.7	7	77.8	11	44.0	6	30.0	12	63.2	73	35.8
Involved In Violence	23	39.0	6	25.0	7	35.0	13	46.4	7	77.8	12	48.0	8	40.0	14	73.7	90	44.1
Killers	1	1.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	7.1	0	0.0	1	4.0	2	10.0	1	5.3	7	3.4
Killed	3	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0	1	5.3	6	2.9
Involved In Killing	3	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	10.7	0	0.0	1	4.0	3	15.0	2	10.5	12	5.9
Character V-Score		44.1		25.0		35.0		57.1		77.8		52.0		55.0		84.2		50.0
Violents : Victims		- 1.36		- 1.33		+ 1.25		- 1.25		- 1.40		- 2.20		- 1.50		- 1.33		- 1.38
Killers : Killed		- 3.00		0.00		0.00		+ 2.00		0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		1.00		+ 1.17
'BAD' (VILLAINS)																		
Total	11	100.0	3	100.0	14	100.0	7	100.0	7	100.0	6	100.0	4	100.0	7	100.0	59	100.0
Violents	9	81.8	2	66.7	5	35.7	4	57.1	5	71.4	5	83.3	3	75.0	4	57.1	37	62.7
Victims	8	72.7	1	33.3	4	28.6	4	57.1	5	71.4	5	83.3	1	25.0	4	57.1	32	54.2
Involved In Violence	10	90.9	2	66.7	6	42.9	5	71.4	7	100.0	5	83.3	3	75.0	6	85.7	44	74.6
Killers	0	0.0	1	33.3	0	0.0	2	28.6	4	57.1	1	16.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	13.6
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	7.1	0	0.0	2	28.6	1	16.7	0	0.0	2	28.6	6	10.2
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	1	33.3	1	7.1	2	28.6	5	71.4	2	33.3	0	0.0	2	28.6	13	22.0
Character V-Score		90.9		100.0		50.0		100.0		171.4		116.7		75.0		114.3		96.6
Violents : Victims		+ 1.13		+ 2.00		+ 1.25		1.00		1.00		1.00		+ 3.00		1.00		+ 1.16
Killers : Killed		0.00		+ 0.00		- 0.00		+ 0.00		+ 2.00		1.00		0.00		- 0.00		+ 1.33

TABLE 64: RISK RATIOS -- TYPE FOR WOMEN IN ALL PROGRAMS CONTINUED

	69-71		1972		1973		1974		S1975		1975		S1976		1976		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
CANNOT CODE TYPE																		
Total	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
Violents	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Victims	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Violence	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killers	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Killed	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Involved In Killing	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Character V-Score		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0
Violents : Victims		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
Killers : Killed		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

TABLE 65: RISK RATIOS
Major Characters in All Programs
(1969-1976)

	All Characters				Male Characters				Female Characters			
Groups	N	Character score	Violent-victim ratio	Killer-killed ratio	N	Character score	Violent-victim ratio	Killer-killed ratio	N	Character score	Violent-victim ratio	Killer-killed ratio
All Characters	3067	73.0	-1.21	+1.83	2328	79.6	-1.20	+1.96	697	49.6	-1.32	+1.06
Social Age												
Children-adolescents	309	61.2	-1.73	+2.00	221	65.2	-1.84	+2.00	87	51.7	-1.39	0.0
Young adults	644	74.8	-1.39	+1.79	438	82.2	-1.26	+2.00	202	58.4	-1.90	1.00
Settled adults	1682	71.6	-1.13	+2.08	1323	79.4	-1.14	+2.17	359	42.6	-1.02	+1.44
Old	88	52.3	-1.19	-3.00	64	54.7	+1.05	-2.00	24	45.8	-3.00	-0.00
Marital Status												
Not married	1457	75.2	-1.25	+1.85	1104	79.9	-1.20	+2.02	346	60.1	-1.50	+1.10
Married	792	55.8	-1.26	+1.57	510	66.9	-1.29	+1.70	282	35.8	-1.15	1.00
Class												
Clearly upper	227	75.3	-1.39	+1.47	158	84.2	-1.31	+1.54	69	55.1	-1.79	+1.25
Mixed; indeterminate	2735	72.5	-1.20	+2.00	2085	78.9	-1.19	+2.14	608	48.8	-1.26	+1.08
Clearly lower	105	81.0	-1.29	-1.29	85	87.1	-1.21	-1.14	20	55.0	-2.25	-0.00
Nationality												
U.S.	2385	68.5	-1.22	+2.07	1780	75.4	-1.18	+2.25	595	47.4	-1.40	+1.13
Other	244	85.2	-1.34	+1.19	189	93.7	-1.32	+1.13	55	56.4	-1.41	+2.00
Race												
White	2385	70.6	-1.21	+1.91	1758	77.5	-1.19	+2.07	627	51.0	-1.29	+1.12
Other	281	66.5	-1.40	+1.58	227	74.4	-1.34	+1.58	51	29.4	-2.50	0.00
Character Type												
"Good"	1759	64.0	-1.28	+3.13	1310	70.6	-1.24	+4.00	433	43.2	-1.47	-1.50
Mixed type	852	69.2	-1.28	+1.13	629	74.6	-1.28	+1.09	204	50.0	-1.38	+1.17
"Bad"	454	115.0	-1.02	+1.79	388	118.0	-1.03	+1.84	59	96.6	+1.16	+1.33

Note: Character score is the percent of characters involved in any violence plus the percent involved in any killing. V-V ratio is of violents (+) and victims (-). K-K ratio is of killers (-) and killed (-). If 0.00 is preceded by a sign, group has either no violents or no victims; +0.00 means only violent(s), -0.00 means only victim(s).

TABLE 66: INFORMATION ABOUT THE FOUR "ADULT" DATA BASES USED IN THE CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

	STARCH		ORC		NORC		PENN	
Date	Spring 73		May 74		Mar.-Apr. 75		October 76	
Location	Philadelphia Chicago Los Angeles Dallas		National		National		Univ. of Pennsylvania	
Sampling	Quota, from households randomly selected from telephone books. Screened for sex and TV viewing (less than 2 hrs or at least 4 hrs daily)		Probability, stratified by geographic area and cluster at neighborhood level		Modified probability, half block quota - half full probability		Probability, stratified by sex and university class	
Number of respondents	607		2052		1490		289	
Collecting Organization	Starch/Hooper		Opinion Research Corporation		National Opinion Research Center		Cultural Indicators/ Annenberg School of Communications Students	
Method of collection	Telephone Interview		Personal Interview		Personal Interview		Personal and Telephone Interviews	
Demographic characteristics		%		%		%		%
Sex	male female	49.3 50.7	male female	48.7 51.3	male female	45.0 55.0	male female	38.3 61.7
Age	under 30 over 30	21.8 78.2	under 30 over 30 30-54 55 & up	27.3 72.7 43.5 28.6	under 30 over 30	27.9 72.1	under 20 20 & older	59.8 40.2
Race	-----		white non-white	90.2 9.8	white non-white	88.8 11.2	-----	
Education	no college some college	57.2 42.8	no college not high school grad high school grad some college	67.5 33.0 34.5 32.5	no college some college	69.7 30.3	freshmen seniors	58.9 41.1
TV viewing								
light	up to 2 hrs/day	49.4	up to 1 hr "yesterday"	35.1	up to 2 hrs/day	47.7	20 min. or less/day	30.7
medium	-----		1-3 hrs "yesterday"	37.1	3 hrs/day	19.6	30 min. or more/day	69.3
heavy	4 hrs & up/day	50.6	3 hrs & up "yesterday"	27.8	4 hrs & up/day	32.7	-----	
Newspaper reading								
light	once in a while or almost never	21.8	up to 15 min "yesterday"	32.0	less than daily	18.3	once in a while	39.2
medium	-----		15-44 min "yesterday"	38.7	-----		-----	
heavy	daily	78.2	45 min & up "yesterday"	29.3	daily	81.7	just about every day	60.8

TABLE 67: INFORMATION ABOUT THE FOUR "CHILDREN" DATA BASES USED IN THE CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

	NJKIDS1	%	NJKIDS2	%	NJPANEL1	%	BANKSTREET	%
Date	Dec.74, Mar.75		Dec.75, May 76		Dec.74; Mar.75; Dec.75; May 76		May 76	
Location	Rural/suburban New Jersey		Rural/suburban New Jersey		Rural/suburban New Jersey		New York City	
Sampling	Half the student population of a public middle school		Student population of a public middle school		Students in both NJKIDS1 and NJKIDS2		Population of 10-13 year olds at a teachers college demonstration school	
Number of respondents	335		649		243 (estimated)		133 (estimated)	
Collecting organization	Cultural Indicators		Cultural Indicators		Cultural Indicators		Cultural Indicators	
Method of collection	Self-administered questionnaire		Self-administered questionnaire		Self-administered questionnaire		Self-administered questionnaire	
Demographic characteristics		%		%		%		%
Sex	male female	51.0 49.0	boys girls	47.9 52.1	boys girls	49.4 50.6	boys girls	45.9 54.1
Grade	sixth seventh eighth	37.6 31.6 30.8	sixth seventh eighth ninth	10.8 42.1 36.4 10.8	seventh eighth ninth	39.2 34.3 26.4	-----	
Age	Mean = 12.20 sdv = 0.97		$\bar{X}$ = 12.77 years		$\bar{X}$ = 13.26 years		9 - 11 12 - 14	36.1 63.9
Ethnicity	"Just American" Italian Black, Afro Jewish German Irish Other	74.8 10.0 3.3 2.6 1.5 1.5 6.3	American Italian Black, Afro Jewish German Irish Other	73.6 6.6 2.4 1.9 1.6 2.7 11.2	American Italian Black, Afro Jewish German Irish Other	76.4 5.3 3.1 1.6 1.6 1.2 12.6	American Italian Black, Afro Jewish German Irish Other	79.6 .8 4.5 6.3 - - 8.8
Father's Education	Father did not attend college Father attended college	51.9 48.1	Father did not attend college Father attended college	43.3 56.7	Father did not attend college Father attended college	46.5 53.5	Father did not attend college Father attended college	8.5 91.5
TV viewing								
light	up to 2 hrs/day	16.7	up to 2 hrs/day	24.2	up to 2 hrs/day	26.2	up to 2 hrs/day	51.6
medium	2-6 hrs/day	46.6	2-6 hrs/day	58.2	2-6 hrs/day	52.9	2-6 hrs/day	48.4
heavy	6 hrs & up/day	36.7	6 hrs & up/day	17.5	6 hrs & up/day	20.9	6 hrs & up/day	---
Newspaper reading								
light	almost never	15.0	almost never	17.0	almost never	17.1	almost never or once in a while	37.3
medium	once in a while	57.2	once in a while	48.7	once in a while	45.2		
heavy	almost daily	27.8	almost daily	34.3	almost daily	37.6	almost daily	62.7

TABLE 60: DATA SOURCES FOR QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN INDEX REFLECTING TV ANSWERS RELATING TO VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

QUESTION ("TV ANSWER" UNDERLINED)	DATA SOURCE "REAL WORLD"	 "WORLD OF TELEVISION"
1. During any given week, what are your chances of being involved in some kind of violence? About one in ten? About 1 in 100?	.32 violent crimes per 100 people (1970 U.S. census)	64.4% of characters are involved in violence (Table 1)
2. What percent of all males who have jobs work in law enforcement and crime detection? One percent? Five percent?	1 % (1970 U.S. Census)	19% of all TV male characters (Cultural Indicators data, 1969-76)
[illegible]t percent of all crimes are vio[illegible] crimes like murders, rape, rob[illegible]y and aggravated assault? Fifteen [illegible]rcent? Twenty-five percent?	10 % (Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1974)	[illegible] of all TV major characters who [illegible] crimes (as criminals) also [illegible] violence ([illegible]ultural Indicators data, 1969-76)
4. Does most fatal violence occur between strangers or between relatives or acquaintances?	16 % of homicides occur between strangers, 44 % occur between family members or friends (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969)	[illegible]% of homicides committed by strangers(Cultural Indicators data, 1967-76)

TABLE 49: PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AMOUNT OF TELEVISION VIEWING AND SCORES ON AN INDEX REFLECTING "TELEVISION ANSWERS" TO QUESTIONS ABOUT VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

CONTROLS	[illegible] SAMPLE (N=[illegible]) Partial Correlation Coefficient and p.		[illegible] SAMPLE (N=[illegible]) Partial Correlation Coefficient and p.	
Zero Order (no controls):	.14	(.001)	.07	(.002)
Sex:	.17	(.001)	.07	(.002)
Age:	.17	(.001)	.06	(.001)
Years of Education:	.12	(.003)	.05	(.019)
Newspaper reading:	.10	(.001)	.05	(.001)
TV news programs:	.13	(.001)		
ALL CONTROLS:	.08	(.038)	.05	(.001)

CHILDREN'S SAMPLES

CONTROLS	[illegible] (N=[illegible]) Partial Correlation Coefficient and p.		[illegible] (N=[illegible]) Partial Correlation Coefficient and p.	
Zero order (no controls):	.16	(.001)	.21	(.023)
Sex:	.13	(.001)	.21	(.029)
Grade/Age:	.16	(.001)	.20	(.067)
Newspapers:	.16	(.001)	.10	(.099)
Father's education:	.15	(.001)		
SES:			.17	(.078)
IQ:	.13	(.001)		
ALL CONTROLS:	.13	(.004)	.10	(.079)

Mr. Wirth [presiding]. Thank you very much, Mr. Gerbner. I think that is a very interesting suggestion and I think we will probably bounce that off some of the network people who will be testifying before the subcommittee later.

Mr. Frey?

Mr. Frey. Thank you. It is interesting. In July 1975, after some hearings regarding children's TV advertising, I wrote a letter to the networks, to the advertisers, to the research people and educators, and suggested that they get together, that they pool their resources, and that they work on the problem. The response was an overwhelming nothing.

It is, I think, the kind of approach that I would feel more comfortable with and have been somewhat disappointed that initiative hasn't come really in that area. I think there is a lot that can be accomplished.

There are several questions I would like to ask you. I suppose I am somewhat qualified. I have five kids of my own, so I guess that is a start with the problems that you have.

How does your definition of "violence," which I am familiar with, differ from that of the networks, or does it differ?

Mr. Gerbner. I am not an expert on the networks' definition. I don't believe that the differences in the definitions are as crucial as the fact that their definition excludes or their application of the definition excludes cartoons and humorous programming which we consider to be an unwarranted presumption of effect. When you are studying content, we feel that one ought not do that.

If there are any significant differences in definitions, Mr. Frey, you will have to ask them about them.

Mr. Frey. Secondly, I find myself personally—and I think maybe it is a feeling of some of the subcommittee—trying to grope my way through the first amendment question, which, I think, is obviously rather crucial, and, on the other side, from a personal standpoint, with a growing family, trying to understand how the two are compatible, how the problems of the first amendment are compatible with the question of violence.

How do we limit? Do we as a Government limit it? I don't think we can, personally. What is your response?

Mr. Gerbner. Mr. Frey, sitting on this side of the issue, rather than on yours, I have no legislative proposals.

Mr. Frey. I am on no side of the issue. I am just trying to figure out what to do.

Mr. Gerbner. Our approach and our contribution to this is taking seriously the assumption that an informed electorate is a wise electorate, which is the assumption that the first amendment is designed to protect.

We believe that, given the kind of information that we are trying to provide to the American public, to the industry, to the Congress, to all citizens, the information itself will have the effect of making people more thoughtful and more responsible.

What we believe is needed—and perhaps my suggestion about a national data archive can be carried one step further—is a national information source like the economic statistic produced every year, like the social indicators. That is why we have tried to contribute a set of cultural indicators dealing with violence and other issues. These indicators show not only the state of affairs at a particular time, but also follow up year after year the consequences of policies, the reality or unreality of policy changes or promises about policy changes. They can follow up and show the American people and the parents and the legislators, but most particularly the industry, the consequences of some of their policies.

It seems to me that, in the absence of such information about consequences, we can not very well expect people in the business to be responsible for that which they don't know or don't believe.

I think the more information we can provide, such as these hearings can generate and contribute, the better informed, the more intelligent and more thoughtful all people on all sides of this issue will be, and I think that is about as far as we can go.

Mr. Frey. I certainly compliment you for that. I think also, with the chairman's permission, I would like for you to detail to file at least (your study) on the ratings with the degree of violence, and I think that would be very helpful for the committee also.

Mr. Wirth. Could you provide that to the committee?

Mr. Frey. Yes.

Mr. Gerbner. I believe, sir, I am not sure I understand what it is that we are being asked to provide.

Mr. Frey. You indicated in your testimony that there was no correlation whatsoever between the Violence Index and the Nielsen ratings. I would like to see that information in detail, if we could.

Mr. Gerbner. Glad to do that.

Mr. Frey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wirth. Mr. Gore?

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Gerbner, I would like to follow up on that line of questioning and ask you the first question and ask you a little bit about your definition of "violence".

You say on page 11 of your report that: "The action may be 'accidental,' it may be 'humorous' or 'serious,' * * *" Suppose in a hypothetical that Danny Thomas pushes Marlo Thomas on the stage. Would that be chalked up as an act of violence?

Mr. Gerbner. You would have to show me the act and you would have to show three trained coders whom we have trained before we would record it. If the act of pushing someone on the stage does not hurt or compel action against one's will on pain of hurting or killing, it would not be recorded as violent.

Before we record any incident, before we make any observation that goes into the recorded archives data, we require the agreement of three trained coders. If they disagree, it is not recorded. So this is what we mean by testing to assure the reliability of judgment.

If that particular episode would not in the opinion of these coders indicate being hurt or killed, it would not be recorded as violent.

Mr. Gore. But if it compelled action—suppose she is compelled to take two steps as a result of being knocked off balance.

Mr. Gerbner. Again the real test is to show the episode and see what the trained coders would do, but, insofar as I can speculate, if the two steps do not constitute a serious act or threat of violence in the common sense, in a clear and unambiguous way, it would not be recorded.

Our general policy is to err on the side of not speculating, of not recording anything that is subtle, sophisticated, or complex. We are quite content with dealing only with the most clearcut and unambiguous representations. We require the agreement of at least four people, and we believe that almost anyone witnessing these particular incidents of violence that are being recorded would agree that indeed these are violent. This is our basic procedure.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Would the gentleman from Tennessee yield? Have these standards been maintained in precisely the same fashion through the past year?

Mr. Gerbner. Yes, Mr. Van Deerlin. We have a 6-week training period at the beginning of each monitoring and coding session. The coding itself takes at least 3 or 4 months. Video tapes are viewed many times. Of course, we have procedures for maintaining exactly the same level of application of definitions. Through our training, we have ways of reducing or eliminating the possibility of error. Some of these are discussed in the section on methodology.

Mr. Van Deerlin. So it isn't like FBI crime statistics?

Mr. Gerbner. I hope not.

Mr. Gore. Now, you indicate—this is a startling figure to me. You indicate that 100 percent of all of the cartoons shown on television contain violence. This is from table 8 of your report. You and your researchers did not find a single cartoon that was not violent.

Mr. Gerbner. Mr. Gore, it seemed incredible to me, although, looking back in previous years, the figure has been fairly consistently 8 or 9 out of 10, so it is not that much different.

However, I had the same feeling. I asked our associates to go back and to look at every one and to look at the coding sheets by hand, not trusting the computer when it comes to figures that seem to indicate 100 percent occurrence of something. Indeed we found in every single cartoon—that every single cartoon had some violence in it by the definition provided.

Mr. Gore. That surprises me and it again causes me to have some questions about the standard that you are using. I believe this is a very, very serious problem, but I think we have to be realistic about it. It seems to me that there are a lot of cartoons in the nature of Johnny, Forest Ranger, or something like that, and I think there has been some improvement over the years, particularly in the cartoon area.

I just have some questions about that.

Mr. Gerbner. May I say that there has been a great deal of wishful thinking. We all wished for improvement and tried to make us believe that there was. I am somewhat sobered and struck by our figures, but we must let the chips fall where they may. I would look to the programs, rather than to our figures, to see what created this phenomenon.

Mr. Gore. Now, you talk about the specific effect on viewers of these violent programs, and you speculate on what the changes in behavior and attitude are within those who watch these programs.

You indicate that these people, particularly children and people under 30, have a greater sense of mistrust and suspicion. Why do you think that is? Simply because they have these emotional dramatizations in their mind? Does it affect their view of people? Is that what you are getting at?

Mr. Gerbner. Mr. Gore, we do not speculate. We refuse to speculate. We report our findings and try to interpret them on the bases that are warranted in the data and in the findings.

The particular finding to which you refer comes from a series of questions we addressed to children and to adults about whether you can trust people, about what their own chances are of encountering violence, about beliefs, credibility, and a number of things indicating the amount of danger that they project onto the outside world.

To each of these questions, there are two answers. One is what we call the television answer, which is based on our studies of content. This is the way it is in the world of television, where people on the whole are less to be trusted, more to be feared, where there is a high rate of victimization. Also, 60 percent of our characters get victimized or get involved in violence, an incredibly higher rate than in real life.

The other answer is more like the Census report, more like it might be in real life, or at least it is a divergent if it comes to more of an attitude or opinion question.

Our respondents can choose one or the other. The measures to which you refer come from the fact that the heavy viewers of television tend significantly more often to chose the television answer, thereby suggesting—we are not asking them about television; we are asking them about real life—thereby suggesting that their conceptions of the hazards, of the risks, of the inability to trust other people in real life, is significantly influenced by heavy viewing of television. This is where the answers come from.

Mr. Gore. Are you familiar with the recent article by Steven Holloway and Harvey Hornstein? This was in Psychology Today and it was reported in the Washington Post. On the effect of watching televised news? About violence and people's attitudes toward the social bond, so to speak? Are you familiar with this article?

Mr. Gerbner. I have read the article.

Mr. Gore. Mr. Chairman, I would like permission to insert this article in the record of this hearing, if I could. I will provide it to the staff.

Mr. Van Deerlin. It is accepted.

Mr. Gore. In the appendix?

Mr. Van Deerlin. For consideration to insert in the record.

Mr. Gore. That is fine.

[The article referred to follows:]

[From Psychology Today]

How Good News Makes Us Good

(By Stephen M. Holloway and Harvey A. Hornstein)[1]

In mid-1968 a research team from the social psychology program at Columbia University's Teachers College was conducting an experiment in lower Manhattan. We were dropping wallets on the street—and learning that about 45 per cent of the people who found the wallets returned them to their owners within a couple of days. Our research had been in progress for some time, and this return rate had become a reliable average.

Then an extraordinary thing happened. Not one of the wallets dropped on June 4 was returned. During the night, Sirhan Sirhan fired a bullet through the head of Robert F. Kennedy. The bullet had killed him, as the public soon learned through the news media. But it did something else as well. It damaged whatever social bonds had caused people to return the lost wallets. It demoralized people and made them socially irresponsible.

Since that day, we have conducted extensive research into the effects of news broadcasts on people's willingness to help others. Our findings suggest not only that the media influence our daily moral actions but, more generally, that altruism in individuals probably rises or falls with the altruism, or lack of it, in social events that may not touch us directly.

It is easy to understand that remarkable public events may influence our views of human nature. For example, at the time President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, Lawrence S. Wrightsman and Frank C. Noble were conducting a study of the "philosophies of human nature" that included a measure of whether those philosophies were positive or negative. Five days after the assassination, they readministered their test to people who had taken it 14 months earlier. As they reported later:

"Those who were most disturbed by the President's death had become more negative than other students in their substantive beliefs about human nature, while the scores of those who were less concerned did not change significantly." The same 30 people were retested five months later. The effects of the assassination had passed, and their initial views of human nature were restored.

The President's murder was a major tragedy. Yet we have learned that even something as comparatively unimpressive as a human-interest story on a radio news broadcast can, in the same way, influence a person's beliefs about human nature.

TWO NEWS STORIES

In one experiment, we got 67 people to sit in a waiting room one at a time for what we described as a psychological investigation of decision making. While they were waiting for the experiment to begin, a radio played innocuous music. In truth, the experiment had already begun and the radio was a ploy.

After a few minutes, the music ended and a short news report came on the air. "Here is a story in today's news," the announcer said in a trained, professional voice. And then some of the listeners in our experiment—but not others—heard the announcer add the following:

"A middle-aged man will be saved, thanks to a person he has never met. The man, who suffers from a fatal kidney disease, had only a short while to live without an emergency kidney transplant. WWBG had broadcast pleas for help. Late last night a respected clergyman came to the hospital and offered to help. The donor has refused the family's offer to pay his hospital costs. Even in this day and age, some people hear a call for help."

The rest of the listeners, however, heard a very different news story:

"A 72-year-old sculptress, beloved by neighborhood children for her statues of Winnie the Pooh, was strangled in her apartment last night by what appears to be a self-styled executioner. The murderer, who has been identified as a respected clergyman, was a long-time neighbor of the victim. He had the keys to the apartment because he occasionally babysat for the victim's grandchildren and was in the habit of bringing up her mail and packages."

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After each of these reports, the radio broadcast would resume its music until one of us casually switched off the radio and began the test. We asked the listeners, who had no idea that the news report had been a hoax, to guess the answers to several questions about the moral and ethical dispositions of people in general. The questions included: "What percentage of people lead clean, decent lives?" "What percentage of people are basically honest?" "What percentage of people try to apply the golden rule even in today's complex society?"

The answers resembled those found after President Kennedy's assassination. The people who had heard the tale of the woman's murder thought much less of their fellows than those who had heard the good news about the kidney donor. The former estimated that fewer members of their community were decent, honest and altruistic.

We have repeated this revealing experiment several times, using both younger and older groups of males and females. The results are invariably the same. The good news produces more favorable views of humanity's general moral disposition than bad news does—despite the fact that the news deals only with certain special cases and not at all with human nature on the grand scale.

CHANGES IN BEHAVIOR

But something even more startling happens when people hear good or bad news. Not only do their beliefs change, so does their behavior. We have confirmed in the laboratory what we observed on the streets after Robert Kennedy's death, namely, a pattern of social irresponsibility.

In several experiments, we recruited people who were told simply that they were going to participate in a study of human decision making. Again, when they entered the room, innocuous music was coming from a radio. The experimenter then explained to them that each person in the room would be working with another person in an adjacent room. Each person would be paid for his participation in the experiment, and the amount he received would depend on how he performed his task with the unseen stranger. If both cooperated in the task, they would earn equal but moderate amounts of money. If both competed, they would earn very little money. However, if one worked cooperatively while the other was competing, the person who competed would earn a good deal of money whereas the one who cooperated would earn substantially less than in any other situation. There was a reward for cooperation, but there was also a risk.

While the people waited, the music ended and they heard a newscast. Although it concerned events that were totally unrelated to their forthcoming work, the newscast had profound consequences on their behavior. Those who heard good news were predisposed to think well of the stranger. They tended to believe that he or she was going to behave cooperatively during the task, and they took the risk of behaving cooperatively themselves. Those who heard bad news had a very different image of the stranger. In general, they expected the stranger to behave competitively, and they acted accordingly by competing themselves.

It requires only a small stretch of the imagination to see what might be happening outside the laboratory when people hear bad news. They are likely to become more competitive and less cooperative. Therefore, competition, cooperation and feelings of "we" and "they" are partly the result of the information about human beings that we gather from the news.

In addition to influencing the decision of whether to cooperate with a stranger, information that reflects well or badly on human nature can affect our social discrimination in specific ways.

For example, in an experiment with 50 middle-aged women, Elizabeth LaKind of the Columbia University Teachers College research team demonstrated that good or bad news influenced the decisions the women made regarding the guilt or innocence of a defendant in a mock trial.

LaKind used the same radio technique we have already described, exposing half the women to a piece of good news and the other half to bad. Later, the women read summaries of two legal cases. In the first case, a man was being accused of murder; in the second, a man was being sued for injuries received by a passenger in his car during an accident.

Once they had read the cases, both groups of women seemed quite certain about the guilt or innocence of the defendants, despite the fact that the cases were quite ambiguous. Those women who had heard good news were far more likely to judge the alleged murderer innocent than those who had heard bad news. The accident case revealed the same trend.

MOOD NOT A KEY

Experiments like these suggested to us at one point that bad news may simply make people unhappy or that a generally "down" mood might explain why bad news makes people less cooperative and more suspicious. But apparently, a person's mood is not the key, as we learned from the following experiment.

Using the same rigged format, we exposed 40 young men to either antisocial or pro-social newscasts that we had adapted from actual events reported in the media. Then, following each newscast, we administered a modified version of a test that reflects whether a person is feeling generally "up" or "down"—the Nowlis Mood Adjective Checklist.

One might expect that people would feel somewhat hopeful after good news and a bit depressed after bad news. But the experiment didn't reveal any such tendencies. Not only were we unable to detect mood changes following good or bad news, but systematic interviews after the experiment had ended revealed that most of the people hadn't even been aware of having heard a news story until the interviewer brought it to their attention. Yet these news stories had affected their subsequent behavior, as we had learned when we asked these same young men to make their choice in the cooperation/competition task. Once again, good news produced disproportionately more cooperation than bad news.

The fact that most of these men and women hardly registered what they were hearing is an extraordinary finding in itself, for it suggests that good or bad news influences our behavior unconsciously. But it wasn't the purpose of the experiment to learn about unconscious influences, however, provocative they might be. Our purpose was simply to discover if news stories influence behavior by means of altering mood. Apparently, they do not.

As we struggled to understand exactly how information about the social world does affect our conceptions of the relative benevolence or malevolence of human nature—and consequently our behavior toward other people—it occurred to us that a critical element in these news stories must be the social component. We reasoned, therefore, that bad news attributable to natural causes would not affect behavior, whereas bad news attributable to some human deed would.

We tested this notion in still another laboratory study using the radio and the cooperation/competition game. This time, though, we used four different newscasts—two reporting bad news and two reporting good news.

In one of the bad news stories, the announcer said that lightning had hit a house and that a family of five had been burned. In the other bad news story, the house had been firebombed by a "maniac" and a family of five had been burned. Similarly, one of our good news stories attributed a life-affirming event to natural causes, while the other story attributed the same event to an act of human valor.

As we expected, the people who heard good news that was attributed to some human deed were much more likely to behave cooperatively (and expect the stranger in the other room to cooperate) than were those who heard bad news that was attributed to some human deed. We found no such effect among those who had heard good and bad news of the same character and consequences, which the stories attributed to "acts of nature."

What is it, precisely, that gives a news story its power to make us cooperative or competitive, trusting or suspicious? We believe the answer lies in the "we/they" dichotomy mentioned earlier. In fact, we were in the process of investigating that dichotomy when our wallet-dropping experiments were so radically skewed by the assassination of Robert Kennedy.

Those and similar experiments also indicated that, when a pedestrian was like the person whose wallet or identification he had picked up off the street, he was most likely to return the lost item. A sense of similarity, in other words—whether of religion, politics, race or whatever—is truly a sense of identification. It creates a social bond.

Bad news breaks this social bond. It teaches us that other people are not like us. The disruption of group ties, in turn, leads fairly logically to various selfish, distrustful, and antisocial attitudes and behavior. And all on account of some "irrelevant" bit of news about the human capacity for evil.

Mr. Gore. Let me ask one more question, if possible. Did you consider news programing in your study?

Mr. Gerbner. We did not. The inclusion of news, and indeed, also of commercials, was included in our plans for the next 3 years, plans that are now before the National Institute of Mental Health, and we expect a response from them as to whether they agree or approve that those also be included.

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you. The gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Marks.

Mr. Marks. Dr. Gerbner, I have really only one question for you. It deals with your television data archive idea. Have you presented this idea previous to this hearing to the networks? Have you suggested that that might be a way of pooling your resources?

Mr. Gerbner. No, I have not yet had an opportunity except for a few casual conversations this morning, because the idea was prompted by the request on the part of the networks for an arrangement to share data, to which we would like to respond positively, and this is what suggested on our staff that our initiative in this direction and this proposal be made. This only happened yesterday.

Mr. Marks. Thank you, Doctor.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Russo?

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me just say, Mr. Gerbner, that I could spend all day asking you questions about the specifics of your report, but, out of respect for my colleagues who would like to question you and because of the fact that we have a lengthy witness list, I will try to keep my comments short and to obey the 5-minute rule.

Would you say, as a result of the studies that you have conducted, that there does exist a correlation between violence on television and the increase in violence that we have reported in juvenile cases throughout this country?

Mr. Gerbner. On the basis of our study, we have no evidence pertaining to that possible correlation, not in our study.

Mr. Russo. All right. Your definition of violence then would be strictly subjective. Taking Mr. Gore's example of Donny and Marie Osmond, certainly using your definition, which is "the overt expression of physical force against self or other," et cetera. "The action may be 'accidental,' it may be 'humorous' or 'serious,' but idle threats or purely verbal gestures are not included."

Any touching or pushing on television would be an overt expression of physical force because I have to make a physical movement with my hand and then touch another person's body. There is the force applied. In effect I have a violent act right there.

So basically, you and I may disagree that that is a violent act, but, if I were to take your definition literally, I could assume that any touching or any contact of the body, whether it is accidental, humorous, or serious, would be considered a violent act, and, therefore, it would increase the amount of violent incidents on television and would certainly be responsible for a lot of the increase in violence index that you have in your report.

So I think the critical thing here is your definition.

Mr. Gerbner. May I comment on that?

Mr. Russo. Certainly.

Mr. Gerbner. Our definition attempts to be not a subjective but an objective definition of the minimal conditions under which most people would agree that an act is violent.

Now, I quite agree that in real life, if I go over to where you are and push you against the wall, it may be interpreted as perhaps not a friendly act.

Mr. Russo. If you just push me, not even pinning me to the wall.

Mr. Gerbner. There may be slight differences in the degree of the push. Some people may disagree. However, we are dealing with drama. In drama, there are clear reasons, motivations, and consequences. The situations are generally stereotyped. They are very clear cut. And, if you try to engage in the kind of work that we do, you will see that the borderline questions, the subtle occurrences such as you have noted, come up infrequently, and they are typically not recorded.

It requires the agreement of four coders, clear and unambiguous, in order to record it, so that the fluctuation that might occur due to the application of the definition in our studies and using our methods is minimal or eliminated, which is, as you point out, the principal methodological safeguard that has to be employed.

Mr. Russo. Let me just say this. If I read your definition, it is not conjunctive; it is disjunctive. After the first phrase, there is an "or." After the third sentence, there is an "or." So any one of these particular actions would be considered violent.

So I am just saying that those who make a determination using your definition basically are going to determine what they think you mean by your definition, and certainly your criteria may be different from what I do.

Let me just say this. Would you say that any and all violence as stated in your definition can be traced to behavioral patterns in our society today? Do they have an effect on the behavior patterns of individuals in our society, based on your definition of violence?

Mr. Gerbner. You have said "any and all," obviously the answer to that must be "no." We cannot trace teaching of history to people's knowledge of history. It is very difficult to do.

In a general cultural condition, in which there is a high frequency of a certain pattern of behavior, the acceptability of that behavior, the fear of that behavior, the consequences of that behavior, are widely known, but you cannot trace each and every incident to a particular behavioral result in any field.

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Does Mr. Luken have a question?

Mr. Luken. Dr. Gerbner, just one or two questions. Your conclusion that in response to violence, one cultivates fear and mistrust—I would like you to elaborate on that. Would you say that those who have a heavy exposure to violence tend not to trust their own emotions?

Mr. Gerbner. No. They tend to respond in a way that indicates that they assume that other people are not to be trusted, that you can't believe in anyone, that you can't trust anyone, or at least you can't trust most people, that their own chances of encountering violence are much higher than those of the light viewers in the same neighborhoods, on the same streets, exposed to the same real hazards of life, and that in general, if I may use another phrase, they are preparing for their own victimization. They are taking the role of the victim or the likely victim and will act accordingly.

Mr. Luken. Well then, particularly with reference to children, have they become more somber, pessimistic, or skeptical in their outlook?

Mr. Gerbner. We have no evidence on their mood or their outlook. They assume——

Mr. Luken. If they expect that they are being victimized, as a normal condition of life, then they are not going to be optimistic. They are not going to have a zest for fighting the battles of life as they grow and develop, are they?

Mr. Gerbner. We have no evidence on what moods or what attitudes high levels of fear and danger really are associated with. It is possible to get accustomed to those. What we do know is that they expect and perhaps will accept higher levels of violence in society as being the usual and not a terribly surprising fact of life, whereas the light viewers, the nonviewers, will be perhaps more disturbed, they will take it less for granted, perhaps be less calloused to the occurrence of real life violence if and when they encounter it.

Mr. Luken. And when they are witnessing on the news the events surrounding, say, the Gary Gilmore episode, they are less likely to be affected, since they tend to accept it as the norm.

Mr. Gerbner. On the basis of our data, we can say that regular viewers of television news take television news more like a dramatic program, and it fits right in along lines that you suggest. They exhibit a pattern of the heavy viewer compared to the regular reader of the newspaper.

The regular newspaper reader, perhaps not so much because of the newspaper itself, but because it implies a broader range of cultural participation and being less monopolized by television, is more likely to exhibit the pattern of the light viewer even when that person views a great deal.

So that television news seems to fit into a dramatic context and gets to be interpreted by many news viewers in a way that is not too unlike that of drama.

Mr. Luken. So the fiction blends with the fact.

Mr. Gerbner. Yes.

Mr. Luken. Well, Doctor, you said your studies don't indicate anything as to a connection between the alarming rate of increase of juvenile crime and violence, and the concomitant exposure to television.

Can you tell us—do you have an opinion based on any other studies or do you have a personal opinion on this subject?

Mr. Gerbner. I can't really separate the personal opinion from what we have evidence of. The only responsibility——

Mr. Luken. I think you answered, did you not, that there was no evidence in this particular study? I am saying "from anything else."

You limited your testimony. I am asking you to expand it if you could.

Mr. GERBNER. I would prefer to stay with the data that I know about and I can trust. There are many remarkable correlations in this world that may be coincidental or not. As we go on with our studies and as we begin to look at the trends in network content and then relate those trends over the years, both to the responses of heavy and light viewers, working with that comparison and with some of the real life statistics, and as we see—and I think it is going to take another 5 years at the very minimum—as we see that, when there is a real change in programing policies, time after time it is followed—maybe in a year, maybe in 6 months, maybe in 2 years—it is followed by a behavioral change and a change in some of the social statistics that we are collecting, not only on violence, but on a number of other factors, then, but, it seems to me, only then, can we say with some assurance that indeed that is one of the correlates and that is one of the causal relationships involved in the creation of that kind of social behavior.

At the present time, I just cannot say that we have any evidence to suggest that that is so. I think that there is reason to speculate that it might be, but we have no evidence to really warrant that assertion.

Mr. LUKEN. Thank you. I just have one other question. I wonder if you could elaborate on your impression of the effect upon the viewer, especially children, of the cartoon versus the more realistic episodes.

Mr. GERBNER. We can make a distinction between the responses of children and adults—and in fact you might be interested to know that it is not only children; it is people under 30. These are the members of what we can call the first television generation. And those of us who are above 30 can be the last nontelevision generation.

They exhibit a higher degree of television bias in their responses because they have absorbed television practically from birth. Children—and our samples are up to 12 years old—children sampled are yet still higher. So they simply are more imbued with the television view of social reality than are adults, and under 30 are more so in general than over 30.

As to the difference between cartoon and noncartoon type of violence, there have been some studies, including the CBS study to which I referred earlier, that specifically singled out the effects of certain types of programing. And we are satisfied from those studies and from many other studies dealing with humor that humor is a most effective way of conveying certain lessons.

Those lessons are sugar-coated. They are easily assimilated and digested, and their lessons are internalized at least as well, if not better, than in so-called realistic and serious drama where the reality test itself may interfere with the easier assimilation of the lesson.

Our data do not permit that comparison, but there are other studies that do.

Mr. LUKEN. So the cartoons could be as harmful as the ones with more realism.

Mr. GERBNER. Yes.

Mr. Luken. Thank you, Doctor. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Waxman.

Mr. Waxman. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Gerbner, it is interesting that your study has provided two aspects of the problem. You have set an index for measuring the amount of violence on television, and then you have also measured the impact it has had on the perception of the world by television viewers, based on how much television time they spend.

Yet, you are not comfortable with making a statement that, even though there is a high level of television violence and even though you have found that the view of the world by so many television viewers has been influenced by that fact, that therefore the increase in violence is not related to the amount of violence on television.

I find that interesting. Can you clarify that a bit?

Mr. Gerbner. Mr. Waxman, you are dealing with probably the most complex type of questions in social learning. We have been teaching history and chemistry and math for many, many years and have not yet found a direct correlation between those and people's knowledge and particularly behavior.

In this area, I think we can get closer to the historic questions about how we learn, how learning relates to behavior, and under what circumstances, simply because in television we have a highly centralized instrument that pervades all our culture and people and provides the mainstream of the cultural climate in which we live.

Fluctuations in that, just as fluctuations in the real climate of the weather, over a period of time can be related to patterns of behavior. We are at the very beginning of this very complex task, and I wouldn't like to, in effect, undermine the effect and the credibility of the task itself by engaging in what I would consider to be premature speculation at this point.

Mr. Waxman. I assume there are studies that show that advertisements on television have an impact on viewers in terms of their consuming behavior.

Mr. Gerbner. In terms of sales. Yes.

Mr. Waxman. And there are also, as I notice on television, a number of role models. The desirable conclusion is to go out and purchase a product, isn't that correct?

Mr. Gerbner. That is right.

Mr. Waxman. If we could assume that role models on television in advertising have the impact on the viewing public which results in their going out and buying a product, why can't we then assume that role models that engage in violent behavior on television are also imitated by people who view the television screen?

Mr. Gerbner. Indeed, we can assume that. The problem is that, in buying behavior, we have a cash register to give an exact quantitative index of results. In the learning of role models, we don't.

Mr. Waxman. Don't we have increased crime statistics that indicate that something is happening in our society and that maybe one can infer causal connection?

Mr. Gerbner. We have crime statistics, we have income statistics, we have statistics of all kinds of behavior, that may or may not be directly related to any single cause. We have had crime statistics before on television. As you know, crime statistics are particularly unreliable. Their trends depend to a great extent on the efficiency and standards of reporting. Most crimes are nonviolent. There is no direct relationship there. Most violence on television is noncriminal. There is no direct relationship there.

Much violence in society is not reported and doesn't get into crime statistics. There are a number of serious measurement problems that have to be worked out. And it seems to me again that, in an issue as important and as close to the heart of the social order as this, one should be able to mount a sustained effort to get at some of the answers. I think they can be gotten, but they are not simple. There are no easy answers and they take time.

Mr. Waxman. I was interested——

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Waxman, would you excuse me just a moment? I see people sitting on the floor, and some who are crowded over by the press table. We do have a lot of extra chairs down at the end, and on the second tier up here. If you maybe leave just enough space in the middle, I would be more than glad to have some of you come up and occupy these additional chairs.

Will you proceed, Mr. Waxman?

Mr. Waxman. Yes. Dr. Gerbner, I was interested that your index of violence did not include news. Yet, you stated in answer to one of the questions previously asked, that you cannot separate the impact of violence on television based on cartoons alone or some dramatic shows and that the news is integrated with notions of drama and that reality and fiction are intertwined.

How can you reach some of the conclusions you reach without measuring the news?

Mr. Gerbner. I am glad you mention that because I realized that I left a slight gap in the explanation. I mentioned that news—the measurement of the content of news and violence on news is something we hope to do in the next 2 years. The results that I have reported to you do not come from a measurement of the content of news. They come from comparing the responses in our effects measures, comparing the responses of television viewers who also in the same questionnaires say: "I watch television news every day," with those who say: "I do not watch television news, rarely if ever." That is one comparison.

The second comparison is with those who say: I read the newspaper every day" or "I rarely, if ever, read the newspaper." We can, therefore, compare the effects of watching television news versus not watching, and we find that the effects of watching television news do not appreciably alter the pattern of responses of heavy viewers, whereas the regular reading of newspaper news does.

Mr. Waxman. Do you find that, with people who watch news to some extent each day, that they have a greater or lesser view of the world in terms of fear and violence and the realities that exist about them?

Mr. Gerbner. It makes no difference, if they are a heavy viewer. The watching of news does not seem to put you in closer touch with whatever it is that we refer to as reality. If you watch television, but also are a news reader, perhaps an indication of a broader participation in other cultural activities as well, then you do seem to have a closer or better information, at least different information from that of the television world about many aspects of social reality.

So that television news seems to act more like dramatic television than like news in the press.

Mr. WAXMAN. The last question, not on this exact line of questioning, but another one related to your measure of the amount of violence on television.

Do you find that there is a high level of violence during that period of time which one would consider to be the viewing time to be set aside for children? For example, during Saturday morning period when there are programs directed specifically to children? Secondly, do you find a high level of violence during that time which is supposedly set aside for family viewing? How do you rate that time compared to other times?

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. I believe that is set forth in your report, isn't it, Dr. Gerbner?

Mr. GERBNER. Yes, it is.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Fine.

Mr. WAXMAN. I will look forward to reading that part of the report and getting an answer then.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Ms. Mikulski?

Ms. MIKULSKI. Yes, Dr. Gerbner, on page 5 of your testimony you refer to the victimization rate of women. It is a statistic that I find bloodcurdling.

These numbers tend to be a little bland. Could you give examples as to what kinds of victimization you are talking about? Were you just talking about murder?

Mr. GERBNER. Well, our definition of violence is the overt expression of force intended to hurt or kill, briefly. We are talking about women and men who become—who suffer violence under that definition.

The important fact to remember is that this does not mean that women are more likely to be victimized than men. Indeed, women on television at least are much less likely to get involved in any kind of violence than men.

What it does mean is that, if and when they are involved, the ability to inflict violence, compared to their absorbing it or suffering from it, is much lower than that of men, so there are relatively fewer women who inflict violence compared to the number of women who get victimized by it. That is what that means.

This is how we consider violence essentially, a demonstration of power. And one measure of power is: How much punishment can you inflict and how much must you absorb? It is a crude, but telling, measure. We have a number of others, but this seems to provide a kind of implicit social hierarchy in which some types of people seem to have more power than others. And that is basically what it means.

I think, if one can make further assumptions from that finding, we are teaching our women to be more afraid and we are not mo-period when we observe that they are more afraid. We are teaching them more than others to anticipate victimization and to, in effect, take the role of the victim, thereby accepting an inferior power role in society.

Mr. Waxman. Thank you.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Markey?

Mr. Markey. Dr. Gerbner, your study does indicate that there has been a significant increase in violent programming after the conclusion of the family hour and in the early Saturday morning children's programming segment.

What I am wondering about is this: Could you share with us your views as to the ultimate, overall effects that the family hour has had upon the reduction of children's exposure to violent programming while at the same time there has been a substantial increase in this violent programming immediately following the family hour?

Have the networks essentially circumvented the intent of the family hour programming to the point where the dramatic increase right after its conclusion and in Saturday morning programming has diluted any possible gains which could have accrued?

Mr. Gerbner. There are witnesses who will follow me who are, I think, much more competent to answer and to give you firsthand experience with some of the considerations that went into the formulation of policies on that question.

Our data do not indicate as yet that the effects of the family viewing hour, which was a significant reduction of violence for a period of 2 years, particularly on CBS, as you can see from prior reports, has registered any particular trends. I think it is too early to expect that.

So, all I can say from our point of view is that we see no evidence that it has made a difference, or, if it has, it was washed out by increases in late evening, weekends, and other times.

It does indicate a beginning or a recognition on the part of networks and all who were involved that something ought to be done. And, while no one knows what the ultimate outcome of that experiment may have been, I think, as an indication of concern and of response, we consider it very significant, and, by no means, do we believe that the last word on that issue has been said.

Mr. Markey. But quantitatively, given the increase in the amount of violent programming in the post-family hour period and the Saturday morning period, isn't it true that large percentages of children in America continue to watch after the conclusion of the family hour——

Mr. Gerbner. That is right.

Mr. Markey. Has there been any reduction or indeed has there been an increase in the amount of that type of programming?

Mr. Gerbner. There has been no change due to the family hour in the response patterns. The response patterns are the results of years of cumulative, repetitive kind of almost ritualistic type of viewing. Most people view as part of their style of life. They view nonselectively. They view during certain hours. It has become integrated into a style of life in which the repetitive patterns accumulate over the years.

While, on the one hand, it is correct to say that there has been no change in responses that can be attributed to the family hour, it is also fair to say that it would be too early, that you need more time than a year in view of a temporary change to perceive any patterns.

Mr. WAXMAN. Would you be able to verbalize for us briefly your feelings, your view, as to the effect not so much that violent programing has in stimulating young children to emulate that type of conduct, but rather the effect which it has in desensitizing young people with normal emotional responses to violent conduct, and whether or not you think it has permanent imprint upon the minds of young people and in their subsequent adult conduct?

Mr. GERBNER. Well, as I am appearing here primarily as a researcher rather than in some other role, I would speculate, as you (know) and on other occasions, I really don't want to depart too far from my data.

Mr. WAXMAN. Could we have the benefit of your expertise in the field and perhaps your personal judgments which you might have?

Mr. GERBNER. We believe that the pattern of responses that we get are the results of long-range cumulative conditioning and that they are of a long-range nature in which no easy or quickly produced changes will be perceived.

As to your second question, I think the answer is "yes." I think there are lasting imprints, if you will. I do think people who are born into a television dominated culture will carry with them to one form or another throughout their lives. Before those children are 5 years old, they will have observed, will have internalized, many hours of all kinds of television; and here there is no point in just singling out violence, although that is kind of a key demonstration of power in society. Those they will very shortly attach other kinds of learning in the classroom. So it has a powerful formative effect.

As to the question of desensitization, it is very difficult to say, because I don't know how one would define "desensitization." I think we like to call it the cultivation of assumptions about the world. Now, when you cultivate a set of assumptions that the world is a mean and violent place in which violence, aggression, hurting other people, victimization, is a common practice, I think, to that extent, you are less likely to be outraged, you are less likely to be upset, you are less likely to consider really unusual and offensive when such a thing happens.

This, as a citizen, I would consider a matter of very grave concern because in a society in which most people or many people already expect a high degree of victimization, chances are that they are going to get it.

Mr. WAXMAN. And is that your feelings that is what television does?

Mr. GERBNER. And television seems to be, because of its centrality in our culture, because of its pervasive nature, a major contributor to the cultivation of these assumptions, according to its present programming.

Mr. WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Frey?

Mr. Frey. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to observe to begin with that we have 15 more witnesses. At the present rate, we will be done about 3 o'clock tomorrow morning. So I would hope that members of the committee and witnesses, as they go along, could somewhat summarize.

I have one question I will just put for the record. I was interested in radio and what impact it had—if there have been any studies. I can remember "The Shadow" as a kid and being scared like the devil to listen to that on Sunday afternoon.

Have there been any studies on that? And your feelings about what impact violence on radio has?

Mr. Gerbner. Yes. There have been a few studies of radio, many more studies of motion pictures.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you, Dr. Gerbner.

Our next witness will be a former General Counsel of the Federal Communications Commission, now with the Aspen Institute, Mr. Henry Geller. We have asked Mr. Geller, from the perspective of his experience, to summarize the significance of the decision in the family viewing case and to comment, if he will, on the limitations of the Commission's power under section 326 of the 1934 act.

STATEMENT OF HENRY GELLER, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE, FORMER GENERAL COUNSEL, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Mr. Geller. As you say, Mr. Chairman, I appear here in an individual capacity. While I am a member of the Aspen Institute program on communications and society, the views I express are my own.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Precisely why you were invited.

Mr. Geller. I will focus on the legal issues in view of my background as former General Counsel. The points I would like to make very briefly are that I believe that the Government, the FCC, has great difficulty when it gets to content regulation of sex and violence; that the district court's opinion in the family viewing case is essentially correct as to the impropriety of Government involvement in that case; and finally that the Government, therefore, has to stay out of content regulation and that its proper role is to create a better climate for broadcasters and the public to deal with this issue. I would like to develop all three very briefly.

The FCC, I believe, cannot lawfully look at a program, no matter how much in bad taste it may be—anti-Semitic, racist, anything you can imagine—and rule it off the air on the ground that it is against the public interest.

The first amendment and section 326 wisely preclude censorship. There are limited areas that fall outside first amendment protection—incitement to riot with a clear and present danger that it will occur, libel, obscenity—but I know of no case that holds that the Government can proscribe sex and violence simply on that basis.

Suppose you were going to make out a case for the Government to move against violent programing on the ground that very substantial scientific evidence shows that it has an adverse effect on society, particularly children.

But violence, like sex, is part of life and it clearly can be depicted in artistic material such as antiwar shows, police, pioneer dramas, a whole host of programs. So that again, under this approach, you would have to get at what you might call "hardcore violence" like hardcore pornography, violence that is in material that has no serious redeeming properties.

That approach would get you into the same mess that the courts are in today with obscenity. Furthermore, in my view, I don't think you could bar a single TV program on that basis. They may very well have gratuitous violence in them. They may be boring or banal, but I don't think they are hardcore in the sense that they wholly lack serious redeeming artistic qualities.

It may be best if I talk about this in the context of a specific case, family viewing. Suppose the FCC were to adopt the family viewing concept as a regulation: Programing inappropriate for viewing by the entire family shall not be presented in the 7 to 9 p.m. time period.

Now, I believe that would be clearly illegal because it would not be confined to what I just called hardcore violence. It could be eliminating programing which has the most serious artistic value.

If you argued that it should be done to protect children, the cases are very clear that, while children are entitled to higher protection, the Government cannot keep children from seeing material with serious literary value, material like the "Red Badge of Courage," "Roots," "Macbeth," and so on.

If it is argued that all you are doing is "channeling"—a time, place, and manner regulation, that you are not preventing the material from being seen, but rather adopting a regulation similar to preventing a sound truck at 2 a.m. in a residential neighborhood, the answer again is that the cases hold that such regulations must be content neutral. The Government doesn't decide that some material can be put on a sound truck at 2 a.m. and others can't.

Finally, you get to the standard. If the Government is going to act in this field, it has to act with precision because it is a very sensitive first amendment area. The standard "inappropriate for viewing by the entire family" is much too vague. It would clearly fall. It is just a subjective standard, under which the Government could do whatever it wanted.

There is really no dispute, I think, on this. For example, in the recent case involving KCOP-TV, there was a petition to deny by a community group that argued that KCOP had put on horror movies that had too much violence, with an adverse effect on the children in the Los Angeles area.

The Commission denied the argument, saying very tersely that section 326 precludes the Agency from getting into this area.

In the family viewing hour, the Commission in its brief said that they lacked the power to adopt family viewing as a rule. The entire thrust of the Commission position was that it had not done so, that this was voluntary, self-regulatory action by the broadcasters.

On that, I believe the district court in the Writers Guild case is clearly right, that the Government intervened much too deeply in the process that led to family viewing.

You don't have here simply a speech by the Chairman or by a Commissioner that urges broadcasters to cut down on gratuitous violence. Such speeches occur all the time. They make suggestions. They are hortatory, and I don't think they constitute legal, reversible error.

Here what you have is that the Chairman, acting on behalf of the Commission, became an integral part of the process that led to the adoption of the family viewing hour. In the Commission's own words, he was a catalyst, and the catalyst in a chemical reaction initiates the action, enables it to go forward.

He met several times with the network officials. He broached the idea of family viewing to them. He sent his staff to New York to continue the discussions. He met with NAB and urged adoption. On the very crucial element of getting industrywide acceptance, and that was crucial to the plan—without it, it wouldn't work—he worked for that necessary industrywide adoption.

He met with the representatives of the independent TV stations and he successfully pressured PBS to join in the family viewing concept.

Now, again I really don't know what the controversy is about on this. It seems to me that the matter is open and shut on virtually undisputed facts. Under 4(i) of the Communications Act, the Commission can take all actions not inconsistent with the act as may be necessary to discharge its function.

But here the actions are inconsistent with the act. Under the Commission's own admission, it has no authority to act in this area in view of section 326.

All these actions—the meetings with network officials, the trip to New York, the meetings with the independents and PBS—are official actions that were taken on official Government business, both as to time and place. So the question is, What was the authority for them?

There was clearly no authority, in view of the concession that the Commission lacked the authority to act in this area. These activities were ultra vires, beyond authority.

Therefore, I believe that the district court was right in finding the unlawful Government taint here because of the substantial Government involvement in the process.

The court, in my view, appears to be wrong on another aspect of the decision. I say "appears" because the decision is somewhat confused and it is not clear what it holds. But at one point the opinion states that the NAB can adopt, but can't enforce, a concept like the family viewing one. The reason why, the opinion states, is that it is crucial under the Communications Act and the first amendment that broadcasters act individually.

At another part of the opinion, it seems to say that the reason why the NAB cannot enforce the family viewing concept is because of this unlawful governmental taint. If that is the holding, I have no quarrel with it, but if it is the former, I would hope and expect that it would be reversed on appeal. While it is true that the individual broadcaster is the one who has to decide whether to put on a particular program, when to schedule it, whether to join the code or, as some have done, withdraw from the code, the cases do not hold that joint activities in this area are foreclosed by the Communications Act or the first amendment. Such joint action may be necessary if we are going to take effective action against gratuitous violence.

The reason for that necessity is that if one of the networks, for example, tries to garner very large ratings through use of sex and violence, there is a tendency for the others to imitate that. There is a Gresham's law that operates here. As I said, the family-viewing concept could not be adopted unless it was industrywide.

That brings me to what the Government should be doing in this area. I think that the Government should try to create a climate to permit broadcasters to act effectively. The Government, the FCC, the Antitrust Division, and Congress, if necessary, should make clear that broadcasters can act together to reduce or eliminate gratuitous violence—with no enforcement, however, by the FCC of any industry agreement.

On the nature of that joint action, I have a very brief comment, again mostly centered on the family-viewing concept. I have doubts about the efficacy of the concept as it was adopted. As you know and have heard testimony, the concept meant that children in the central time zone could receive violent programming at 8 p.m., in the mountain time zone perhaps even earlier. There is something wrong with a solution that sloughs aside a third of the children in the Nation. It smacks more of a gimmick to appease critics than something really dedicated to the public interest.

Also, as you know, after 9 p.m., millions of children are still watching television. The figures have been supplied you—11 million from 9 to 9:30; roughly 10 million from 9:30 to 10. So, once again, it seems to me that what is needed is to eliminate gratuitous violence wherever it occurs.

I have one other observation about family viewing, which raises a very difficult issue. The broadcaster has enormous leeway as to what program policies he should follow, including scheduling, and that is as it should be. But the broadcaster could adopt, in theory anyway, arbitrary program policy.

Just to give you an example: If a broadcaster said that he never presented redheaded people or blacks or that he never put on personal attacks or covered serious subjects in entertainment programs, like the war in South Vietnam or premarital sex or abortion, those would be arbitrary policies. They would be arbitrary even if they were restricted just to 7 to 9 p.m.

He has wide choice as to what he wants to do in individual programs, but he can't just rule the above subjects out. I am not saying that the family-viewing concept does rule out serious topics such as the Vietnam war or abortion in the time period 7 to 9 p.m., and, therefore, the Government should now intervene in this very sensitive area.

But I do believe that, when you do have joint action of this nature, the standard should make clear that the presentation of such serious topics is not being ruled out, and this one does not.

It would be much better to make clear what is being aimed at, eliminating gratuitous violence.

I have been talking about a climate in a negative sense of getting rid of gratuitous violence. I think the Government could also promote joint action in a more positive sense of telling the broadcasters that they can act together to present, for example, worthwhile children's programing, because here again you have this Gresham's law I referred to. If two of the networks are presenting informational programing for children Saturday morning and the third one is clobbering them with low-cost cartoons, eventually there is a tendency to drive out the informational programing.

I think, therefore, that the Government should make clear that the broadcasters, including the networks, can act together and agree that they will equitably and substantially meet their obligations to children.

Some examples of this were Chairman Minow's proposal in 1962 for joint action, and a very innovative joint action proposal by Dr. Pierce in a 1974 report issued when he was at the FCC.

I think this Commission is mistaken in refusing to promote joint efforts.

Another action that would be positive and would, I think, assist the public interest here is for the Commission to finally conclude docket 19154. The Commission has stated that broadcasters are under an obligation to devote reasonable amounts of time to local, informational, and children's educational programing.

The issue in the docket I have referred to is whether the Commission should adopt general percentage guidelines in these areas on what constitutes substantial service—strong, solid service—such as to ward off a competitive challenge.

I want to stress to you that there is no way to avoid looking at these percentages. The incumbent is judged at renewal on his record and particularly in these areas. So it is really a matter of applying objective standards beforehand in a general inquiry in which all can participate.

I believe that these standards, if adopted, would spur broadcasters to present this informational programing, including for children. Again, I think the present Commission is wrong in delaying for 6 years the resolution of this proceeding and refusing so far to adopt percentage guidelines in the area of informational and educational programing to children.

The Government can do a few other things. In the network proceeding, the Government can consider whether some version of the Westinghouse proposal for prescreening should not be adopted.

If this turns out to be feasible, affiliates could then substitute other programing when they thought the network program was too violent. And the Government, in line with what Dr. Gerbner said here, could sponsor further research on the effects of violent programing on children.

As you know from testimony you have had in the two prior hearings, this is not a settled issue. I think further research, therefore, might be helpful, in order better to inform both broadcasters and the interested members of the public, such as the PTA's.

That is a very oversimplified presentation on a very complex subject, but it does set forth what I think are the guiding legal issues, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** Thank you, Mr. Geller. If an antitrust exemption were to be sought to enable the networks to get together on this matter, would it be limited, in your opinion, to discussions of elimination of violence, or might it move to other matters of mutual interest among the networks?

Mr. **Geller.** I think it should extend to other matters, including putting on, on a rotating basis, worthwhile informational programing for children. Incidentally, in the 1961 proposal, Chairman Minow checked it out with the Antitrust Division and said that the Attorney General had cleared such joint action, that he would be willing to look sympathetically at such joint planning and would give it a green light.

It is not clear that you need an antitrust exemption. It is not clear it could not be done today under the present law, in view of the 1961 history.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** You mean it wouldn't take a statement from the Attorney General?

Mr. **Geller.** I think the broadcasters and networks would not proceed in this area without clearance from the Justice Department. All I am saying is that that clearance was forthcoming in 1961. That doesn't mean that the Department can't look at it again and change its mind.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** It wouldn't require legislation?

Mr. **Geller.** Not based on the present record.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** You must have some misgivings about too wide a grant of exemption though.

Mr. **Geller.** I certainly do. I think you might want to have Government people present, not to participate in the merits of the discussion, but just to make sure that it didn't get to matters that would be inappropriate for agreement among the networks.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** I see. Is there any other way in which, in your opinion, this end could be achieved?

Mr. **Geller.** One way, as I say, is to adopt percentages. Let us say, for example, that the networks must present 2½ hours of informational programing every week, an hour on Saturday, perhaps a half hour on Sunday, and 1 hour during the week. I think the Commission——

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** That would hardly get to the question of violence.

Mr. **Geller.** I am giving you an option for alternative programing. I have said to you, Mr. Chairman, that I believe that the Government cannot act effectively to get rid of the gratuitous TV violence. What it can do is create the climate where the networks and the broadcasters get together and say: "Let us agree to eliminate this." But the enforcement of that cannot be by the Government. So that I do not know what the Government can do other than to create that climate for joint action.

Mr. **Russo.** Would the chairman yield for a followup?

I don't see how you san say, Mr. Geller, that you don't need an antitrust exemption, when the programers will be the first ones to attack the broadcasters by saying: "You are working in concert to force us to produce various programs," without any type of antitrust action.

I would think the programers would be able to file an antitrust suit, and put the broadcasters in court for many years.

Mr. GELLER. Yes. That is one of the phases in the family viewing suit. The judge did not reach it. In my own view——

Mr. RUSSO. You have been making a statement to the chairman that you don't see the need for an antitrust exemption, and I have a hard time accepting that.

Mr. GELLER. Let me say that when the issue is reached, I think that concerted refusals to deal, when they are directed to noncommercial purposes like this, do not violate the antitrust laws. They come properly under the rule of reason.

There are cases in this field involving NAB actions to eliminate host selling and sports heroes on cigarette advertisements. Those NAB actions were attacked under the antitrust laws. These are all lower court decisions, and in each case the NAB won; the court held that the broadcasters could act jointly.

As I said to you, broadcasters would act here jointly without getting clearance from the Department of Justice and from the FCC. Even if such clearance were forthcoming, that would still mean you could have a private antitrust suit, but I think it would be very powerful that the Department of Justice felt that the broadcasters could go forward jointly.

Finally, I did mention that one of the things you can do to create a better climate is for you to legislate in this area and make clear how far you wish to allow joint action to go. That is one of the things that the Government can do appropriately, to consider what it is you want, how far you allow joint action, with what safeguards.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Is there a possibility that steps to encourage greater diversity of program sources would help?

Mr. GELLER. Yes, I think it would help a great deal. That, I think, is the heart of the matter, on this alternative of supplying more worthwhile programing.

I have suggested a number of ways of doing that, percentage guidelines, joint action by the networks and broadcasters; and cutting across this whole field, of course, are new sources of programing coming from pay television, pay cable, and better funding of public television. There are a whole number of issues of that nature where Congress, I think, can be very helpful.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Frey?

Mr. FREY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You know, I find myself agreeing with you and then you seem to be going in circles. To begin with, one question I had is: In terms of the licensing, you say Congress can't and the FCC shouldn't get involved, but in fact a licensee always has the sword over his head on the licensing question, doesn't he? Let us say a station just ran only programs on violence and sex and that is all it did.

Mr. GELLER. Yes.

Mr. FREY. You have got that hanging over you, so the FCC can act, can't it?

Mr. GELLER. I don't believe the FCC can act by taking into account program content of violence. I don't think it can look and say that "Roots" is good or bad.

Mr. **Frey**. If they didn't have news, they didn't have anything else on, and all they had on would be that?

Mr. **Geller**. They could do that. The broadcaster can't play the "Old Gray Mare" 100 percent of the time. It has been put on the air to serve as a local outlet, to put on informational programing. Of course the FCC could act on that, but not on what the broadcaster has done in the entertainment area, which is over 80 percent of his time.

Mr. **Frey**. But the fact is that there is that sword there, so I think you can't pass that. Second, I was somewhat surprised at your conclusion—after what you said—that we ought to make up percentages, because, to me, percentages is even more overregulation that anything in the violence area. When you say: "You have got to do this," that comes pretty close to censorship.

Mr. **Geller**. Mr. Congressman, the fact is that you are there already because the Commission says: "We will not renew a license unless you put on a reasonable amount of local programming, unless you put on a reasonable amount of informational programing." These are congressional mandates in sections 307(b) and 315(a).

So, at some point, the Commission will deny renewal of license because a broadcaster has not served as an effective outlet in local or informational programing. At some point in the comparative hearing, the Commission will say: "We are going to choose the challenger over the incumbent because the incumbent has not rendered strong solid service in the crucial local and informational areas."

Mr. **Frey**. The answer to that part is competition. If you are in a competitive area, you get that answer right there, don't you?

Mr. **Geller**. Because the way the act——

Mr. **Frey**. Potentially.

Mr. **Geller**. The way the act is today, you can compete at renewal. In theory, a challenger can win against the incumbent if it would render a strong, solid service in local or informational programming, and the incumbent has not done so.

I wish we could avoid this process. I don't like the Government in this sensitive area, but what I am saying to you, Mr. Frey, is that the Government is in it.

Mr. **Frey**. We are in the midst of doing something, as you are well aware, which may have some impact on it.

The third question that I wondered about in this whole area in terms of self-regulation was: It looks to me like, no matter what you do, you are really coming square with the first amendment when you look at who has to get involved. The gentleman from Illinois was talking about antitrust exemption. It is really not just the broadcasters who get involved. You really need a community of interests to sit down and work out the problem. You need the advertisers, you need the programers, you certainly need the broadcasters, and probably you need educators or people who are doing research in this area. You need all those groups to get together and sit down and come up with something. One alone isn't going to do it.

Mr. **Geller**. I think you are absolutely right on that. I think that, while the broadcasters have the ultimate decision, the input should come from many areas because they are all facets of the process.

Mr. **Frey**. Well, to go back again, we tried to do this in 1975 and nobody was really interested. I don't know how much further in terms of what the Congress can do, in terms of limited action there is, except to give them the opportunity to do it and to encourage it.

Mr. **Geller**. I think you should await the outcome of the family viewing case. If joint action is precluded, I think that would be an area then for congressional consideration, on what terms——

Mr. **Frey**. I disagree a little on your feeling on the case, although I did feel that the court was way off base in not allowing self-policing. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Are there additional questions for Mr. Geller? If not—Mr. Wirth?

Mr. **Wirth**. Mr. Chairman, I just have one short question to Mr. Geller. In his opinion, Judge Ferguson stated—and let me quote from this—"The NAB has no constitutional right to set up a network board to censor and regulate American television."

Now, as one who believes that conscientious self-regulation is certainly a lot better than what we might do from the perspective of Uncle Sam, I was wondering what your opinion on Judge Ferguson's statement might be and whether or not he is really saying that the NAB through its code cannot set program standards for member stations.

Mr. **Geller**. He seems to be saying that. At another point, he seems to say the problem here is governmental taint. If he is saying that the NAB, even absent governmental taint, cannot act effectively with self-regulation, then I believe that he is wrong and I would hope that he is reversed on appeal.

I don't think that the cases he cites, *CBS* v. *DNC* and others, support that. I think joint action may be very appropriate here—may well serve the public interest. Such action is subject to review by the FCC to determine only if it is an arbitrary program policy. I feel, therefore, that the judge is wrong on that aspect.

One of the things that is also puzzling is that he says the NAB can adopt a policy, but cannot enforce it. Well, the adoption of a policy to which the members subscribe is itself inhibiting. I believe that the decision is flawed and not well thought out on the point you raise.

Mr. **Wirth**. It seems to me that, if we are talking about self-regulation, which we certainly hear a great deal of discussion about, there has to be some way of doing that.

Mr. **Geller**. That is one of the issues on appeal. And, as I say, if it comes out adverse to the NAB on that score, I think it is very much a proper subject for congressional consideration, if the decision is based upon construction of the Communications Act as it is in part.

Mr. **Wirth**. Thank you, Mr. Geller. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Mr. Marks.

Mr. **Marks**. Yes. I have one question, Mr. Geller. You mentioned in your testimony something about a Westinghouse proposal for prescreening, and I am not aware of that. I wonder if you could briefly explain that.

Mr. GELLER. Westinghouse filed a petition very recently saying that it wished to break out of the pending Commission inquiry on network practices one aspect, namely that Westinghouse proposed that it receive network programing for prescreening at least 1 month in advance, so that the affiliate can determine whether or not the programing is too violent and substitute another program that would not have so much violence in it.

The networks have not yet responded to this, and it may be that there are some practical problems here concerning when the networks have the programs ready—fully edited—to be sent down the pipeline.

What I was saying is that this is a matter where the government again might do something, might intervene and say, to the following extent have prescreening.

Clearly, as I said, there is no dispute that the individual licensee should be the ultimate judge of what goes out to the public in his area.

Mr. MARKS. Thank you.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. If only because the holder of the license is the one responsible for what goes on the air.

Mr. GELLER. Yes. He is the public trustee, as you say, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Russo?

Mr. RUSSO. Yes. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Just a couple of questions. It seems to me that the basic problem we have now is a conflict with the first amendment, and, no matter what type of government action we try to prescribe, you will inevitably run into a problem involving the violation of first amendment rights. In fact, I could write a case now that if broadcasters wanted no government rule in this area to tell us to go then there isn't much action we can take.

Probably what we need and I'm being facetious, is an amendment eliminating the first amendment. Can you imagine the kind of problems we would have in this country trying to do that?

But you made a statement about eliminating gratuitous violence in all cases because the children may watch it at 9 o'clock in one zone. Now, how can you say that we have the constitutional guarantees provided by the first amendment rights and, in the second breath, say that the Government has to step in and do something about that, whether it is by governmental action or hinting, whether we hint it from here or Chairman Wiley hints it from the FCC? It is still government action. How do you get around the first amendment rights?

Mr. GELLER. I don't think you can get around it. I am sorry I wasn't clearer. What I am saying is that the Government cannot intervene to get rid of gratuitous violence. All the Government can do is to create a climate, and the climate I am talking about is the ability of broadcasters to take joint action—to agree that use of violence is getting out of hand and that we the networks, we the broadcasters, will eliminate gratuitous violence.

Once that agreement is reached, I don't think it can be enforced in any way by the Government. I am very strong that the first amendment precludes governmental interference here, and that all you can do is to create the appropriate climate and to provide alternative sources of worthwhile programming through funding PBS and through other actions of that nature.

Mr. Russo. There is another thing that can be done and something which we in Congress can't legislate, that is, require the parents to do a little bit of the job at home in watching what type of programs their children watch.

You know, everybody wants the Government to solve their problems because they don't want to do it themselves. They are too darned lazy.

So when you talked about the price they pay now if maybe there was a certain amount of local programming, a certain amount of news, of course you realize that that was a fiction that was created back in 1927 and in the writing of the Communications Act in 1934, as the price you pay to use the spectrum, and, in rewriting this Communications Act, maybe we ought to change that and say that isn't the price you pay. We will just charge you a flat out fee for it and then let the first amendment right go through. Let them show whatever they want to show and then only through other means, like maybe going to the advertisers and other ways, can the public actually do something about violence on television, because we do have the first amendment problem.

Mr. Geller. That is, I think, a very sound statement. There are other systems Congress could go to. One of them would be a rental system, where you would use the money to fund public broadcasting and minority programming access, and it is an alternative that would avoid a great deal of these first amendment issues.

But, as you stated, we are proceeding under the present system, which is one of a public trustee required by Congress to present local, informational, and similar programming, and to be renewed every 3 years on the condition that the licensee does meet those public trustee obligations.

Mr. Russo. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Ms. Mikulski?

Ms. Mikulski. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. *Just one question*, Mr. Geller. I am intrigued by your comments regarding percentages. If I could take it a step further, are you saying that we could have certain kinds of quotas for television? Could we have a violence quota? Could we have a love quota?

Mr. Geller. No. What I am saying is that, under 303(b) of the act, the Commission can prescribe the nature of the service, taking into account the congressional mandates. We have allocated a system of local outlets. That is why in Chairman Van Deerlin's district there are outlets in San Diego rather than having San Diego, say, served from Los Angeles, which it could be.

The Congress has also in 315(a) said that licensees must devote a reasonable amount of time to controversial issue programming. This is the reason why the FCC has allocated so much spectrum to broadcasting as against other uses, industrial and common carrier.

If you have allocated for that, then in the renewal you ought to see that you have gotten what you have allocated for, that the San Diego stations are serving as a local outlet, that they are putting on informational programming meeting the needs of San Diego.

What I am suggesting is that it ought not to be a subjective area. It is a very sensitive first amendment area and under court cases like Greater Boston there ought to be some standards set forth ahead of time.

Let the Commission say to the broadcaster: "Here is what you have to do in the way of local or informational programing, the basic allocation areas. And, if you meet these percentage guidelines, then you are assured of renewal unless there is some other dereliction."

At some point, the Commission must and should deny a license because the applicant did not put on enough local or informational programing. Isn't it better to have a proceeding where it is set forth ahead of time and people know what the ground rules are than to sandbag them on an ad hoc basis?

Mr. MOORHEAD. Who would set these standards? The Congress or the FCC?

Mr. GELLER. I should think the FCC should set them after a public proceeding. I believe they ought to be set at reasonable levels reflecting what is substantial service. I don't think it should be an inordinate amount. For example, you could set local at 15 percent, including prime time. It should not be an ever advancing amount. If that is what the FCC wants as an allocations figure in San Diego, it is then up to the licensee to decide what local programing to put on.

Mr. MOORHEAD. What other steps could Congress take to encourage the FCC to do that?

Mr. GELLER. You could pass a law, for one thing. You could say that it is necessary to clarify the comparative renewal area. It is a mess now between the FCC and the court. The court has stated that a licensee should be renewed only if he renders superior service. The FCC has set the standard as "substantial."

I think it would be helpful if Congress passed a law that said the standard is "substantial;" that if the broadcaster renders substantial service, he should be renewed; and that the Commission, on the other hand, should adopt programing percentages in these basic allocation areas.

Such a law, I think, could be very helpful.

Mr. MOORHEAD. Thank you.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. In fact, the license is renewed if the licensee has remained out of jail during the period of the license.

Mr. GELLER. That is correct. In cases like *Moline, KHJ*, and others, it is shown that the incumbent can't lose his license unless he attempts to assassinate the President.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. I didn't want to name names. Are there further questions? Mr. Gore, go ahead.

Mr. GORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Geller, I am not content to say that the Government has absolutely no action that it can take in this area. I am very concerned about the first amendment. I am also concerned about the public interest standard.

Let me ask you this first. Do you think that section 326 is completely superfluous?

Mr. GELLER. I think it is superfluous in the sense that it tracks the first amendment. Even if it did not exist in the act, it would make no difference. The first amendment consideration would be there.

Mr. GORE. So it is superfluous in your opinion?

Mr. GELLER. In my opinion, it is. Yes.

Mr. GORE. You say that all actions by the FCC must be content neutral. What about the format changes cases?

Mr. GELLER. Let me say that, when I say "content neutral," I refer to actions where the Government gets into violence or looking at whether anti-Semitic programs can be presented. The Commission does not have a mandate to search the broadcast day and say that this program is in the public interest, but that it doesn't like the content of that one.

There are a number of ways the Commission can get into content. One of them is obscenity. It gets into content in one sense in the Fairness Doctrine. Has the broadcaster presented reasonable opportunity for the contrasting viewpoints? It gets into content in section 315. Under the court decisions, you are right that it gets into it also in the format cases. The court has held in a number of cases that if it is a unique format and the licensee is not losing money, the Commission perhaps should hold hearings to determine whether it is in the public interest for, say, the only classical music station to become the 20th rock and roll.

I myself have great misgivings about what the court has done. I believe here in the marketplace solution. I am not sure that the court has not inhibited experimentation and that the decisions have not gone too far.

Mr. GORE. Well, if I am not mistaken, the FCC refused to examine whether a station was acting in the public interest or not when it wanted to change from classical music to rock music, and the courts of appeal have said "no," that they do have the authority under the act. Is that correct?

Mr. GELLER. Yes. And the Commission has now issued a report in which it has challenged what the court has said and hopes to have another test of it. You are absolutely right. The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit has ruled as you have stated.

Mr. GORE. Now, you said earlier that, if a station presented all entertainment and no news, then, in your opinion, it would be just for the Commission to revoke their license under the act, correct?

Mr. GELLER. Yes.

Mr. GORE. Is that not an infringement upon their first amendment rights?

Mr. GELLER. No. In *KFKB*, it was held that an action of that nature, if related to the public interest, does not violate the first amendment. We are on a slippery slope here. You are right as to that.

But let me go back to something that you said, that a man is a public trustee and you give him the facilities free to act as a public trustee. Then you say: "I want him to be a local outlet." That is why I am using all these megahertz of spectrum to have a local outlet." If he fails to put on local programing, then your whole public trusteeship system fails if you can't deny his renewal.

In a case called [illegible], one applicant in 1960 said he was going to be a religious station and put on no local programming. The court of appeals and the Commission could correctly and soundly deny his application, and certiorari was denied by the Supreme Court.

It is a very difficult, complex area because you are walking, as the chairman has said, a tightrope.

Mr. Gore. You. But it seems to me that you are coming down on one side of the tightrope completely in saying that the first amendment is absolute and that the Congress has no right to examine what is going on in this area, that the FCC has no right to act in this area, but in instance after instance the public interest standard requires the Commission to look at some aspects of content. Isn't this correct?

Mr. Geller. Yes. Aspects like local or informational, broad categories like that.

Mr. Gore. And also aspects like the difference between classical music and rock music.

Mr. Geller. It does, although that has serious first amendment issues.

Mr. Gore. What we are really talking about here then, is a new area of inquiry, a new standard for examining content, whether or not there is too much violence. Is it not possible or conceivable that the public interest standard might be used in this area and that it might be adjudged against the public interest to have children view 18,000 murders by the time they graduate from high school?

Mr. Geller. It is possible. It would depend upon the majority of the Supreme Court. In my opinion, it is not likely. I think that the Supreme Court has made clear that, when the Government proscribes programming, such as obscenity, it reaches what I say is harmful material that has no redeeming value. When you get to the violence area, you would have great difficulty. You might be able to construct an approach, but you would have great difficulty finding that the material has no serious redeeming social or literary value. I think, therefore——

Mr. Gore. I don't understand why that is even involved. If you look at the format change cases, to take that example again, the question of redeeming value doesn't even come up.

Mr. Geller. In the format cases, what it comes down to is: Is it in the public interest for the only classical music to cease? As I say, I believe the court's decision is incorrect in that, but it is the court decision.

Mr. Gore. All right. Let me just say briefly that I believe that the first amendment questions are accentuated by the focus on the networks rather than the affiliates, and I think that the authority and ability of the Government to act in this area is probably focused on the license holders, and I would just ask one final question.

Section 309, which elucidates the public interest, convenience, and necessity standard, guides the FCC in this area. As we look toward a rewrite process, I ask this question: In your view, is this standard too vague to guide the courts and the Commission in this area?

Mr. Geller. I don't think you will be able to get to any better standard. I think that in the first amendment the issues will be declogged in court tests, and it would be very difficult for Congress to do more than specify some policy areas.

You could, for example, if you believe that the agency should not be involved in the format cases, write that into the law. That is your view of the public interest. You could write it the other way if you want.

You could do a number of things. If you believe in program percentages in order to deal with local and informational, you can specify that as a standard. Finally, you have what *Mr. Russo suggested*, that you eliminate the public trustee concept entirely and turn to a different system, particularly in aural broadcasting where you have such a plethora of stations. These are all possibilities for you.

Mr. GORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Any other questions? Mr. Markey and then Mr. Waxman.

Mr. MARKEY. I think perhaps I disagree to some extent with some of my colleagues who spoke earlier about the first amendment and its sacrosanctity. I guess my problem is when you say it is the job of the parents to turn off the TV and that they ought to be the ones who are monitoring the conduct of their children. Unfortunately, I think what our society proves over and over again is that the more mature and stable families in our country monitor the conduct of their children, and that is indeed why they are stable, but all too often those who come from the lower income or the less stable elements of our society use the television set as a babysitter and as an alternative to their own personal attention. And those people concomitantly are the ones who are most susceptible to be influenced in having alternative life styles presented to them for the resolution of human conflict by violent or nonviolent means, depending upon how they are influenced by television sets.

I guess what I would like to know is: Isn't the first amendment ultimately only a rule of reason, and isn't it something which can allow real restraints to be put upon it as the society makes the types of decisions that are necessary to protect it from the types of encroachments that would follow? I am of the opinion that society would have to be out of its mind to allow 3 networks to decide what goes on night after night, into the homes of 220 million people, without any type of safeguards or legal strictures which are imposed upon them.

Doesn't it seem as though the first amendment should have the type of flexibility to allow that kind of restriction?

Mr. GELLER. I believe it does not have the flexibility to do that, Congressman Markey. I think that, when you examine the obscenity cases—and they are very instructive in this field—you will find it is just an intractable problem trying to cull out what can and cannot be presented—to say "Yes, this is all right; no, that is not." The Supreme Court has been struggling with that for decades.

If you now moved into the violence field and tried again to deal with whatever you want to call hardcore violence, you would find even a worse mess. I believe not that the Government is powerless, but that the Government has to act in other ways to create a climate, to feed information to PTA's and others about the effects of gratuitous violence on children. The Government can create a climate for diversity in programing. But it cannot, I think, scan the programs, say "yes" to this one and "no" to that one, that that is a worse problem than the problem that we are dealing with.

Mr. Markey. There is some difference in the case of obscenity where people make the conscious decision to go out and purchase it or to view it or perhaps view it on pay TV as opposed to the traditional commercial television we have today where programs come in indiscriminately, and, unfortunately, we *don't have the types of safeguards* to prevent impressionable youngsters from being exposed to it.

Could I ask you also: Concurring in Mr. Minow's suggestion to the networks in 1962 that they act in a collusive way to reduce the amount of violence, what was the reaction of the networks? What did they do?

Mr. Geller. No interest in it at all. There was no interest also, I believe, in Dr. Pearce's suggestion. The Commission itself has not been interested in promoting this type of action. It was suggested to them in a petition filed in 1974, and the Commission said that it felt there should be competition, not cooperative action.

Minow's suggestion did not rule out competition. It said to the networks:

> One of you agree to put on an hour program on Monday afternoon, another on Tuesday, the third on Wednesday, and then rotate again, and compete like mad for who can make the best informational or entertainment program.

But there has been no interest either at the networks or at the Commission in fostering such cooperative ventures.

Mr. Markey. Could you just give us your impression as to what that would suggest to you about the networks' attitudes toward the reduction of violence on television?

Mr. Geller. Well, this is a different issue. The proposal is to provide an alternative programing. I don't want to characterize their attitudes. The networks are very competitive and they may feel that they want to continue to compete.

What I think is unfortunate is that while I am generally a firm believer in competition I am not sure competition in this one particular area does not disserve the public interest to some extent. There is this Gresham's law I referred to.

Mr. Markey. Thank you.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Waxman?

Mr. Waxman. Mr. Geller, as I understand what you are telling us about the first amendment, it precludes Government from saying certain kinds of programing will not be allowed on television, but it does not preclude Government from mandating that certain kinds of programing be on television, for example the Fairness Doctrine that mandates equal time in dealing with political content, or the restriction on controversial programming, saying you have to have a certain amount of controversial programing.

Now, if we view this problem as a problem of lack of diversity, lack of choices for a viewer, a lack of guidance by—for the parent to make a decision on what a child will view, because the only thing to be viewed is one violent show as opposed to another, then we conclude that the FCC has the power to mandate that during prime time a certain amount of that viewing time will be devoted to shows for children.

Mr. GELLER. The FCC, I think, does have the power under 303(b) to say that you must put on informational programing directed to children to the following extent, and I think they can do that under 303(b).

Mr. WAXMAN. You talked in terms of encouraging a concert of action between the networks. Can the FCC do something different than that and mandate that informational programing for children be on different nights on different networks so that throughout a week most of the time, prime time, is covered by some options for a child to be able to watch a program that is adequate?

Mr. GELLER. I think you are getting the FCC very deep into a sensitive area and I would be reluctant to say "yes" to that. I think what they can require is that the licensee meet its public trustee obligations. The Commission has already stated in its children's television report that licensees must devote a reasonable amount of time to children's programing and a reasonable amount of that must be educational or cultural in nature.

If that is true, then at renewal they can enforce that. Where there is a petition to deny saying that *X* station is not devoting a reasonable amount of time to informational programing to children, then the Commission, which has in its renewal form such an item, would have to look at what they have done.

What I am saying is that if you can look at it at renewal on an ad hoc basis, you can specify ahead of time what you want in a general kind of program guideline. "Here is what the general guideline is. In order to assure renewal, either minimally or, since you can have these comparative challenges, here are the guidelines. Here is what we mean by substantial service, strong solid service, in the way of providing informational programing to children on that score."

I have suggested 2½ hours, for example, as a general guideline here. I believe the FCC has the power to do that. The Commission argues that it would be interfering more with first amendment rights if it were to do it. I believe they are interfering less because eventually you get to it at renewal anyway, and the question is: Shouldn't there be some objective standards, ahead of time?

Mr. WAXMAN. So, in your opinion, they can define what "reasonable amount of time" would be in fact in terms of the amount of hours per week.

Mr. GELLER. Yes. Finally, I would like to say that I have sloughed over one thing. We all talk about the present system. The best thing that could happen is to create a climate where you get more diversity through breaking this television of scarcity and getting to a television of abundance.

I know that is beyond the scope of this hearing. I won't go into it. New technological devices, pay, pay cable, satellite; all those things are of greater importance, I think, than trying to strain the present system to do something.

On the other hand, here we are. What are we going to do in the next 5 years? And I appreciate the importance of these hearings on that score.

Mr. Waxman. On the other hand, what you are saying is that, if we had greater number of outlets, we would have hopefully more diversity, but I can conceive of a greater number of outlets all competing with each other for the same kind of show at the same time because they find it is a success.

Mr. Geller. If you have really television of abundance—and this gets back to the parent being in control—you should be able to find programing that suits your taste and that you want to watch. Right now, you very often have a very limited menu.

Mr. Waxman. You mentioned a case that has been on the docket for 6 years. Is that the——

Mr. Geller. That is docket 19154. The notice was issued in 1971 and further notice was issued in 1973 after a case called *Citizens*. It has now been sitting since 1973, and that is a long time, I believe, on a very important issue.

Mr. Waxman. There is no legal requirement for the FCC to act one way or another on a matter that is before them?

Mr. Geller. You could mandamus them eventually, I suppose. The court has kind of informally indicated that, after a period of 12 months, we might have some grounds to mandamus, but largely we have been awaiting Commission action in the proceeding.

Mr. Waxman. We had some interesting suggestions in our hearings in Los Angeles, that the Government can play another role in helping parents regulate the amount—not the amount, but the kind of viewing by their children, and that would involve mechanical kinds of things, devices that would indicate—that maybe would lock the television set off when certain kinds of programs are going to be on the air, or maybe some way in which they could be prevented from changing the channel if they were on public television watching one of the programs there that were geared toward children.

Do you think that that is an area of some exploration, that the Government can be involved in without violating the first amendment, and may well find a constructive way to deal with this problem?

Mr. Geller. Well, I think that they are coming in the marketplace. Pay television, for example, is bringing devices of that nature, and the marketplace will supply an answer there over the period of the next decade.

Mr. Waxman. Thank you very much.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Any further questions for Mr. Geller? We very much appreciate your having been with us.

Mr. Van Deerlin. The hour having reached high noon, I suppose it will be appropriate to call next on the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

It is the intent of the Chair, inasmuch as the House goes into session at 1 o'clock today and there probably will be a quorum call shortly thereafter, to continue with the session until the bell rings for first attendance on the House floor, and then to break until possibly no later than 2 p.m.

We very much appreciate having you with us, Mr. Wiley. You are clearly a key witness for us in this matter, and we shall be very glad to hear your testimony, and to explore such other views as you may give us on questioning.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD E. WILEY, CHAIRMAN, FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

Mr. WILEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee to discuss the continuing issue of televised violence. I would like to address this matter through a brief prepared statement and then use the remainder of my time to respond to any specific questions from members of the subcommittee.

Violence on television, as you know, has been a matter of congressional, Commission, industry, and public concern for many years. Such concern, as I see it, has focused primarily on what might be regarded as gratuitous and excessive violence—violence designed to attract and maintain audience attention. As TV violence increased, so did the concern over the possible harmful effects that such programing may have on the mental and social health of viewers, especially child viewers.

When the Surgeon General's Report on "Televised Violence" was released in 1972, its "preliminary and tentative" findings pointed to the existence of a correlation between violent programs and subsequent aggressive behavior for some children under some circumstances.

In commenting on the report during the 1972 Senate hearings, Surgeon General Steinfeld stated that, to him, "* * * the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior * * * [was] * * * sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action."

The social science community is not, however, unanimous in its interpretation and evaluation of the role of television on human behavior. British sociologist James D. Halloran, for example, warns us to "* * * treat with considerable caution the claims of those who state methods are available for assessing the direct effect of television on attitudes and day-to-day behavior." Moreover, the Surgeon General's report viewed its own tentative and limited conclusions as "* * * not very satisfying."

While the evidence of the specific effect of TV violence on our citizens may not be as clear as many would like—and probably never will be—I nevertheless feel that we know enough to suggest that this is a matter in which broadcasters should take special care and caution—especially, in my view, with the child viewer in mind.

Television, after all, is a unique medium—a medium with a very direct and pervasive accessibility to the American home and to the young people who reside there. As this subcommittee is aware, I—and my colleagues as well—feel strongly about the necessity for the exercise of taste, discretion, commonsense, and basic good judgment on the part of broadcast programers.

At the same time, however, the Commission believes that this is not an area in which Government regulation is either feasible, desirable, or constitutionally appropriate. Under the limitations imposed by the first amendment and section 326 of the Communications Act, we are precluded from censoring or otherwise interfering with specific program content.

Moreover, we are dealing here with highly subjective values, ones which vary from person to person. I do not believe that it would be possible or advisable for the Commission to attempt to formulate programing standards for the avoidance of "excessive" violence—nor do I think it appropriate to require the American people to accept the personal program preferences of FCC Commissioners. Such subjective decisionmaking should not be made by the Government but by the people for themselves.

I recognize, of course, that many conscientious and well-meaning individuals are so concerned with the issue of media violence that they may tend to favor Government program regulation. In some cases, these are the same people who would vigorously oppose any restrictions on the freedoms of press and speech in the televised news and public affairs arena.

I simply cannot agree with such a double standard in the application of the first amendment. In this regard, we should recall Justice Brandeis' admonition "* * * to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent."

Because Government cannot legally engage in censorship of television, the role played by broadcasters—the individuals in whom the responsibility for program selection is directly placed—becomes even more significant. Vigorous and effective self-regulation simply must operate in this area. This is not to say that the primary responsibility for a child's wholesome upbringing belongs to the broadcast industry. Clearly, instead, as Mr. Russo points out, it lies with the parent. And all too often, in our contemporary society, parents are delegating their traditional and fundamental obligations to institutions such as the school, the Government, and the media. This trend, I hope, can be arrested. But the task confronting mothers and fathers in our fast-paced civilization is indeed a difficult one—and I think it is one in which television can and should provide positive assistance.

It was for this reason, in late 1974, that I decided to heed the urgings of congressional leaders to "do something" about the issue of excessive TV violence and its effects on our children. I took those urgings seriously because I thought they accurately reflected public concern.

I believed then, as I do now, that Government program regulation is not the answer. I did not utilize the Commission's rulemaking procedures because, as I have said over and over again since the early 1970's I did not believe that the Government could constitutionally adopt program rules in this area.

However, I also believed, then and now, that broadcasters have a tremendous moral obligation to your children and mine. Accordingly, I met with the leaders of the industry to encourage self-regulatory reform.

In 1975, subsequent to these meetings, the family viewing plan was adopted and implemented by the industry as a part of the NAB Code. My role concerning the adoption of this concept has been the subject of controversy, litigation, and prior testimony before this subcommittee—and I have nothing new to say on this subject today. I will say again that I did not seek agreement behind closed doors, and indeed every person who actually participated in our meetings so testified under oath.

In response to Mr. Geller's comments that I broached the family viewing principle, let me state that I never heard the term "family viewing" until CBS proposed it. My suggestion was the elimination of all gratuitous violence throughout the day. At that time I suggested—and I would state again today—that intelligent scheduling might be of assistance to concerned parents who want to monitor their children's viewing habits. In this regard I felt that there should be a uniform time standard across the country for the television industry, and I have suggested many times that this is one of the weaknesses in family viewing as it was adopted by the industry.

Let me say that I strongly disagree with Judge Ferguson's findings of Government coercion in this matter, and the Commission, along with the NAB and the three major networks, is appealing the court's decision. Indeed, I should point out that, following the judge's opinion, the NAB on its own motion reenacted the family viewing principle, and I can assure you, without discussion with me.

The point that I would like to make is that I saw family viewing as a moderate step in the right direction toward the elimination of all gratuitous and unnecessary violence, an ultimate objective which I had suggested in my meetings with the networks and the National Association of Broadcasters.

Like Dr. Gerbner, I also saw it as an indication of responsible self-regulation by the industry, assuming, of course, that it was to be implemented in a good-faith manner by licensees across the Nation. I did not see it, incidentally, as a restriction in programing concepts or themes, something to which I generally would be strongly opposed.

In any case, it is clear that family viewing is not a panacea or the whole answer to the problem of programing excesses. Moreover, neither I nor the Commission is wedded to the concept.

As I have said this many times before, if there are better means by which the industry responsibly can bring about a reduction of violence on television, I would welcome them as well.

In this connection, I am pleased to note several recent and encouraging actions on the part of the industry. In the last several months, discussions on the subject of media violence have been held among officials of the NAB, the networks, and leading Hollywood program production companies. It seems to me that this kind of interaction holds at least the promise of significant reform in the private sector.

In addition, executives of several television networks have informed their affiliates of plans to reduce the number of action shows in their 1977–78 schedules. Moreover—and this is often lost sight of, I believe—programs currently offered for syndication are being edited to remove excessive violence. Finally, leading advertisers and advertising agencies have announced a policy of restraint concerning the sponsorship of heavily violent programs.

Industry self-regulation, in my view, also can be beneficially influenced by citizen input. In this regard, there are again some positive signs. Very recently, the National Congress of Parents and

Teachers, the American Medical Association, various church and consumer groups, and many private citizens have publicly expressed their concern and their determination to bring about effective reforms.

I am particularly hopeful that forthcoming discussions between the NAB and representatives of such groups will bear fruit. In all, there is reason for some cautious optimism that this problem can be resolved within the private sector. But let me make it quite clear, however, that the Commission is not a guarantor for the industry's good faith and responsible action. To the same effect, we cannot insure that industry codes will be meaningfully and faithfully implemented. That implementation, under the American system of broadcasting, has been left in the hands of the private broadcast licensee.

To the extent that Dr. Gerbner's most recent report and other studies before this subcommittee accurately indicate that television violence is not decreasing, and that broadcasters are not fulfilling their promises to the public in this regard, I can only express my personal disappointment and dismay. By such alleged actions, broadcasters do a serious disservice not only to themselves and the industry they represent, but, more importantly, to the American people they serve.

Although these are disheartening and disturbing findings, if accurate, I still do not believe that it would be desirable or appropriate to substitute Government censorship for our system of private broadcasting, whatever its human failings and weaknesses.

I continue to be hopeful that increased self-regulation, prompted by active citizen involvement, will ultimately bring about meaningful and lasting solutions. In this regard, I happen to believe, contrary to Judge Ferguson's opinion, that an industry code of program standards could assist individual broadcasters in meeting their responsibilities to the public. But, naturally, whether such a code will continue to exist, the nature of its provisions, and the extent of its effectiveness, must be decided by the industry and not by the Government.

Let me make one digression with regard to Mr. Geller's reference to docket 19154, which includes a proposal for quantitative program percentages in a comparative renewal hearing involving an incumbent licensee, something which perhaps was not made clear.

I must say that I really do not believe this digression is in any way germane to the subject of this hearing. Indeed, I must say that the effort to push for this proposal does, if you will, gratuitous violence to the subject of this hearing.

For the record, let me say that I oppose such percentages as an unwarranted intrusion of Government into licensee discretion, and I also believe that an emphasis on quantity undermines the proper emphasis, which should be on quality programing.

I would like to thank the subcommittee for its attention and, indeed, for its continuing interest and concern in this area. While we may sometimes disagree on the proper means to resolve the question of excessive violence on television, I believe that we do agree that it is a problem worthy of the serious and continuing attention of us all.

This concludes my formal statement, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you, Mr. Wiley. I don't think I have heard anyone, boosters or detractors, ever suggest that you didn't act with the highest motivation in seeking to bring a change in the program practices and habits of the networks.

The thrust of the Ferguson decision, as I read it, was that what you did was not at issue, but the manner in which it was undertaken. The court felt that there were courses open to the Commission which hadn't been utilized in open rulemaking procedures, giving everyone a chance to be heard in public on the issues.

I am sure you must have considered that course. Did you feel that this would not be consonant with section 326 which forbids you formally and legally to get into programing?

Mr. Wiley. Yes; I did, Mr. Chairman. I really didn't think the Commission could adopt such rules constitutionally or legally under the act, and, accordingly, I thought that rulemaking would not be appropriate.

I must say that, when I discussed this with the network officials, consistent with other discussions which have been held by Chairman Minow, Chairman Burch, Chairman Ford, other chairmen before me, it was not an unprecedented action.

I had no intention of seeking an agreement or of coming out of those meetings with some plan formulated according to a Government-prescribed concept.

Now, I recognize the court's decision. I am not here to debate the court's decision. I am a lawyer, and I have to take the court's decision as the law at this point. But I can appeal it and we certainly are appealing it, along with the Department of Justice, and the networks, and the NAB.

Frankly, I don't think there would have been a family viewing principle, per se, had Arthur Taylor, the former president of CBS, not expressed himself very forcefully in the meeting that he felt something had to be done in this area and that he was working on a plan, the content of which I knew not at that point. And, indeed, I never heard the term "family viewing" until CBS issued that concept.

Now, I recognize there are legitimate concerns about whether there should have been such meetings. I can only say that my purpose was not to effect an agreement, and I hope to etsablish that upon appeal.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Frey?

Mr. Frey. To save time, I will just wait and put some questions in writing to Mr. Wiley, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Wirth?

Mr. Wirth. Just a brief question. Mr. Wiley related—I think we are all looking for means to break into this, short of legislation. Westinghouse Broadcasting recently asked the FCC to adopt a rule allowing local stations a good period of time to preview before programs were to go on the air.

I was wondering if you felt that that might be one way in which to work on the question of excessive violence without some kind of regulation coming out of the FCC.

Mr. WILEY. Well, as you know, Mr. Wirth, that is one of the issues that has been enumerated in our network inquiry. Westinghouse has recently asked: "Could you sever out for expedited rulemaking, this prescreening proceeding?" We currently have the Westinghouse petition out under our rules, for 10 days' comment. At the conclusion of that period of time, and after the Commission has had a chance to consider it, we will make a determination of whether we want to have a rulemaking in this area on whether that should be severed out and should be handled individually.

I am not here to try to prejudge either that rulemaking or our ultimate network inquiry. I will say that I think if local licensee discretion is to be meaningful, licensees should have an opportunity to understand what programing they are putting on. I have some sympathy with the general concept, but I think it would be more appropriate for a final judgment to be made after the Commission's processes have effectively run.

Mr. WIRTH. I mean, isn't there some kind of time constraint on this, before the new programing starts in the fall, to move back from that in terms of having that kind of, say, requirement or action by you all on the *Westinghouse* decision some time this spring so that then the procedure can be set up so that the local broadcasters do have their preview time and everybody is aware of that time frame?

Is it realistic to assume that that could be done before new fall programs are to begin?

Mr. WILEY. I am not sure that it is, but I am not going to try to make a judgment on that. First, we have to try to determine whether the Westinghouse petition should be severed out; second, should a rulemaking be issued along that same line and what should be the judgment on it? I don't think I can really make a decision today because it is out for comment right now, as you must appreciate.

Mr. WIRTH. Whether it should be severed out is going to be decided in 10 days?

Mr. WILEY. No. Under our rules for petitions for reconsideration, it is out for 10 days' comment. Thereafter, it has to be brought back to the Commission. The Commission then has to make a decision whether or not to issue a separate rulemaking.

Mr. WIRTH. When do you think you might make a decision on whether or not it will be severed out?

Mr. WILEY. I just can't tell you that today, but obviously I think that should be made as early as is feasible.

Mr. WIRTH. Thirty days? Ninety days? A year?

Mr. WILEY. Frankly, I just can't say. I checked this morning on the status of the petition and found out that it was out for 10 days comment. Beyond that, I can't say. I am interested in this issue, Mr. Wirth, and I certainly wouldn't have voted for a network inquiry which included this issue if I didn't think it was a proposal——

Mr. WIRTH. Network inquiry is a very big job, isn't it?

Mr. WILEY. I hope it is not going to be one of those rulemakings that drag on for years. In fact, the Commission, at the urging of Chairman Van Deerlin in the letter he sent to me, expressed its concern in this regard and indicated its desire to try to finish this up within 1½ years after the conclusion of the receipt of comments. At least that is my intent. And, as you know, we have tried to place deadlines on many of the items at the Commission over the last several years.

Mr. Wirth. Let me, just on that point—Obviously I think this is one way that ought to be carefully explored, and I would hope that you would do that as quickly as possible. I have talked to some of the broadcasters who are concerned about the fact that they don't have time to this kind of previewing, and I think the Westinghouse suggestion is a very good one and I would hope that you would move on that as quickly as possible.

Mr. Wiley. I appreciate that. Let me say once again that I have talked to Mr. McGannon about this, as well as many other broadcasters. I can certainly understand the concept involved, and it seems to me that our system of broadcasting, which is premised primarily on a local decisionmaking basis, does contemplate that broadcasters have an opportunity to know what they are putting on. So I have some sympathy for it at this point, but I want to wait obviously to comment.

Mr. Wirth. Thank you, Mr. Wiley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Marks.

Mr. Marks. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Wiley, in your testimony, you suggest that "to the extent that Dr. Gerbner's most recent report"—I am reading from page 6 of your prepared statement, sir—"and other studies accurately indicate that television violence is not decreasing and that broadcasters are not fulfilling their promises to the public in this regard, I can only express my personal disappointment and dismay."

I would like to ask you about that statement. First of all, are you satisfied that Dr. Gerbner's report and the other reports that you refer to there are in fact accurate?

Mr. Wiley. Well, I think they are accurate in terms of their own definitional content. I think we have to recognize that we are dealing with a very complex issue here as to how to define violent actions.

I think you heard the dialog that went on with other members—I am thinking of Mr. Russo particularly—with Dr. Gerbner, and we have seen that he measures violence in one fashion; other people have measured it in other fashions. I cannot myself, as a layman in this area, make a definitive judgment as to whether television violence is decreasing and whether or not broadcasters are fulfilling their promises to the public. I can only say that I think that this is something which commands our attention.

I believe that Dr. Gerbner has done a service in continuing to study this matter and provide periodic reports. I would be interested to hear what other people may say about televised violence and, indeed, whether the networks have any studies along this line.

Mr. Marks. Then do I take it from your answer that you are not advising us this morning that in fact you believe that report is accurate from what you know?

Mr. Wiley. I am neither saying that it is accurate nor saying that it is not accurate. I am not qualified to judge and I want to say that I am not attacking its integrity. I am suggesting—I am sure Dr.

Gerbner would agree with me—that there are definitional concepts in which that report must be placed, and obviously there are different ways to define violence.

Dr. Gerbner has one way of defining violence which would include, I think, different types of actions. You are going to hear from other social scientists today who would define violent conduct in perhaps other ways, and you probably have to put that all in context.

Mr. Marks. Mr. Wiley, you also stated that broadcast—in the sense that the broadcasters are not fulfilling their promises to the public in this regard. Are you suggesting to us that, in your opinion, they are not?

Mr. Wiley. If you were to examine the various network programming statements, as I have, they all make rather general statements about their avoidance of excessive programming excesses. I would consider those in the nature of promises.

I cannot say, Mr. Marks, really whether this is the case or not. I am not a social scientist. Like you, I am examining all the evidence and trying to make some reasonable judgments about whether the level of violence is increasing.

Suffice it to say I am not happy about the fact that Dr. Gerbner's report indicates some rise, particularly in the family viewing hour and particularly, let us say, by CBS, which has had a very commendable record in that regard.

But this is not something which I have regulatory authority to do anything about—I say that as an individual.

Mr. Marks. Either as an individual or in your present position, have you voiced your concern to anyone at the networks?

Mr. Marks. Recently? I am not going into the past.

Mr. Wiley. I must say this in all candor, I am concerned what the full breadth of *Judge Ferguson's opinion*—has done to the ability of the Government to even speak out in this area.

Call it moral leadership if you will. Call it jawboning, if you want to do that. I think there has been considerable doubt cast upon the Government's ability even to say: "I think there is a real concern in this area and I think something ought to be done in it," because, if something is then done about it, it is conceivable that could be considered coercion. And I am not certain that that is, from a public policy standpoint, a sound and viable concept.

Mr. Marks. Thank you, Mr. Wiley. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Russo?

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. As I understand your testimony, Chairman Wiley, you would rather have the marketplace create the atmosphere on this particular problem.

Mr. Wiley. It may be even beyond what I would rather see accomplished. It may be what the Constitution and the laws, as I read them, require. But, if you want a personal "rather," I would say "yes," I would rather the industry set the tone, because I am not sure that what Dick Wiley thinks is appropriate for the American people to watch should be the standard that we set.

Mr. Russo. I happen to agree with much of what you have said, although I *disagree* with some of the things you have done as Chairman of the FCC. But I think reasonable men can differ.

I think there is a lot of substance in this very short statement. It points out to the parents what they ought to be doing, what the broadcasters ought to be doing, and I think a lot of us probably agree—I should say a lot of us probably feel that the first amendment prohibits our entry into areas that we would like to step into. I think that is the price we pay for first amendment freedoms.

As a student of the Constitution, I am aware that we just happen to be barred from going into a lot of areas that we think we ought to regulate, that the framers of the Constitution thought ought to be open to the freedom of society.

Mr. Wiley. I agree with your very perceptive comments.

Mr. Russo. Let me just say one more thing. I can't agree with you more, not only in this particular instance, but in many other instances, that the people who are vigorously fighting for program censorship, in effect by saying: "Get rid of violence. Get rid of other things on TV," are the same people who editorialize and write articles about how important it is that we have first amendment freedoms granted to everybody. So you can't have your cake and eat it in all cases. We understand the limitations.

You are aware of the Chairman's definition of violence?

Mr. Wiley. Yes, I am.

Mr. Russo. You have heard some of the comments that a couple of the members have made about what is considered a violent act. Would you consider my pushing you on television a violent act, even if I were to stumble and trip and bump into you?

Mr. Wiley. Mr. Russo, I really don't think that, as a lawyer, as a layman in this area, that I am really qualified to set up my own definition.

Mr. Russo. I am not asking you as a lawyer. I am asking you as someone who I believe has a reasonable amount of intelligence, who can understand the written word. And, having read the definition of violence in the Chairman's statement, what kind of a conclusion as an individual would you make?

Mr. Wiley. I suggest you may be asking me as Chairman of the FCC. In that capacity, I am going to decline, very frankly, to answer that because I don't think it is appropriate for me to try to do so.

Mr. Russo. Not as the Chairman of the FCC, but as a person, an individual, a private citizen.

Mr. Wiley. Let me say this. I think that there is a variety of definitions of violence, and I am concerned about knowing whether or not cartoon violence is really as serious as other kinds of violence, whether pushing is the same as some malevolent, devious act of cynicism and violence, whether those things have the same impact on our viewers. But I am really not able to answer that question.

Mr. Russo. I have done the same thing you have done many times, where people have put me on the spot, so that I feel like you have to answer the question.

Mr. Wiley. I am giving you an honest answer. If it does appear to be ducking the question, I can only say I don't think that is a question I ought to answer. But it is a very good question, nonetheless.

Mr. Byron. I have said that, too. I just wanted to tell you.

Mr. Wiley. Thank you very much.

Mr. Byron. I have no further questions.

Mr. Van Deerlin. The only thing which remained was for Mr. Byron to demonstrate the goods.

Mr. Wiley. Mr. Byron comes from a good State, too. May I add that?

Mr. Van Deerlin. I would like that stricken from the record.

Further questions of Mr. Wiley? Mr. Markey?

Mr. Markey. Could I ask how soon a decision will be forthcoming on the request by Westinghouse to have a full month's prescreening notice on programming?

Mr. Wiley. Mr. Wirth asked me about that. Let me just quickly summarize the facts. That petition is currently out for 60 days' public comment. Thereafter, the Commission has to make a determination whether it wants to start a separate rulemaking and sever out that issue from our overall network inquiry in which it is currently an element. I think it is a very important subject to be discussed by the Commission.

Mr. Markey. Can you give us an outside limit on the number of months?

Mr. Wiley. I can't, but let me say that I am interested in the subject. I think the Commissioners are interested in the subject, and we are going to deal with it as expeditiously as we can because I frankly think it is a very interesting suggestion.

Mr. Markey. Do you think it will be advisable for the FCC to issue regulations notifying sponsors well in advance the nature and content of the programs which they will be sponsoring?

Mr. Wiley. I don't think that would be appropriate for an FCC regulation. We do not, you know, regulate the advertising industry. I wouldn't want to see that in the FCC regulations.

Mr. Markey. You wouldn't consider that to be an appropriate indirect means of perhaps getting the sponsors to begin so that the pressure from having [illegible] to kill himself in prime time, or showing the Manson family murders? As the pressure becomes greater and greater, this would be an indirect and perhaps permissible way of creating that type of climate which could help those limit violence?

Mr. Wiley. Let me say, as I have said before, I have no problem whatsoever with the concept of citizen input into advertisers or the relation between advertisers and broadcasters. I believe those kinds of relations in the private sector are very important. Advertisers very definitely should look at the kinds of programs they are sponsoring, and I have said that in speeches directly to the advertising industry.

I am just not sure that Federal regulation in this area is the right way to go. I don't think it would be necessary or appropriate.

Mr. Markey. OK. Thank you.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Gore.

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Wiley, you have been criticized at length about the — your role in the family viewing hour concept.

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Mr. WILEY. Ah, yes.

Mr. GORE. I would like to say that I, as one individual, think that it wasn't a bad idea. There has been a lot of talk about the role of parents in determining how much violence their children see on TV.

It seems to me that the family viewing hour concept, whether the Government plays a role in it or not, is one way to give parents a little more control over what their children see and what they don't see.

It seems unreasonable to expect parents to be able to monitor the television every hour of the day from the time the children come home from school until they go to bed. It is just not reasonable.

If you develop some kind of reliable expectation of when the objectionable programs—and that is a subjective word—are going to be on, then it makes the task of parents easier.

So, rather than criticizing you for the way you went about this, I would like to commend you for the idea itself. I think it is a good one.

I would like to ask——

Mr. WILEY. Could I comment on that, Mr. Gore? Let me say that I don't take credit for the idea. But I will say this. I do agree with the basic concept that you have expressed, and I have stated that in the meetings with the networks and publicly many times. I think it is a very difficult job today to bring up children.

In many homes, both parents are working. It is difficult to monitor your children's viewing habits, even if you are concerned about it.

It seemed to me that this industry step to try to give concerned parents some assistance in this regard by saying, during the first 2 hours of prime time when children's viewing is heaviest, that programs will be suitable for the entire family. This is not to say that children aren't watching after 9 o'clock in the eastern time zone. They are, and many of them in homes with no parental guidance are watching after 12 or 1 a.m. I am not sure that television can solve that.

But I did think that at least the concept of the family viewing hour is a good one. Now, how is it to be implemented? Whether it would restrict programming concepts, that is something that is difficult, and I respect other viewpoints in that regard, but I think that family viewing is at least the first constructive step we have seen, if it is implemented in good faith, toward industry awareness of this problem and some steps to try to deal with it.

Mr. GORE. I am encouraged that the NAB has reinstituted it after the court's decision. There are a couple of problems with it, however. We have seen several. One is the number of children watching after the family viewing hour is over with. And I think this is an area where it is fair to ask the parents to take a more responsible action in seeing what their children watch and what they don't.

Another problem that concerns me, coming from a State in the central time zone, is what you do about this. Do you have any proposed solutions for that problem?

Mr. WILEY. Well, I had a proposed suggestion.

Mr. GORE. In your informal conversations.

Mr. WILEY. Yes. In England, for instance, they basically ascribe to sort of a 9 o'clock concept, that more difficult programs would be on later in the evening, on the theory that fewer children are watching at this time. My thought was that they might want to give consideration to that, but my thought was for a uniform "9 o'clock" across the country. I am also from the central time zone, and I am aware that children from these areas are watching programs at earlier hours. I happen to think that the family viewing hour, as the industry has implemented it, has this major weakness because of the time zone.

Again, however, it was not something that I had any control over or should have any control over.

With regard to the late evening hours, I made another suggestion along the lines of industry experiments, and that was the concept of viewer advisories. It seems to me that again, if we can get parents some idea that a program is coming on—that it might be difficult, I had discussed with Mr. Panitt of the TV Guide, and he indicated that he would be pleased to publish such prior notifications. It seemed to me that would be something that parents would appreciate.

Mr. GORE. That is used in some areas now. As a parent, I have found that I also find useful the warnings that come on at the beginning of a program and after the first break on occasion.

Mr. WILEY. That was similar to our suggestions.

Mr. GORE. On other occasions I have been brutally surprised by particular gruesome or explicit scenes right in the middle of a program, watching television with my young daughter. I wondered if you have explored the idea of having some kind of video—some kind of dot on the screen such as is used in France or something like that, during a program which includes scenes that are objectionable.

Mr. WILEY. Well, it has been suggested that all my suggestions were adopted in total by the networks.

Mr. GORE. Is that now being used?

Mr. WILEY. This was one of my suggestions which was roundly refused. I pointed out that in France they have used the white dot theory and, when I proposed it, it got about 2 seconds of consideration and that was it. It was not one, let us say, that was looked upon with favor by the industry.

Mr. GORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Waxman?

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Wiley, as you know, I have been a critic of the family viewing policy and the process by which that policy came about, but I want to concur with a statement made by the chairman that at no time have I ever doubted your sincerity and your good intentions in developing that policy.

Mr. WILEY. I appreciate that, Mr. Waxman. Let me say that, while you have criticized the policy, I know also that your concerns are legitimate ones, that Government not in effect regulate through the back door, and I respect that position. I think it is a responsible position.

Where we seem to disagree is factually, as to whether that backdoor regulation occurred. I felt, and I still feel, that there must be some role for a Government official to be able to make suggestions to the industry for improvement. Then, if the industry happens to adopt some aspects of those suggestions, we should not be accused of coercion.

I must admit that I was caught off base by the fact that I would have such a strong statement in a meeting by Arthur Taylor saying that something had to be done about this and, by goodness, he was going to do it.

Therefore I got tagged with having an agreement behind closed doors, but I can only tell you that my conscience is serene. I thought I acted in the best interests of the American people.

I will let the law fall where it may. If the law decides that I made a mistake and if the whole thing was improper, so be it. I think the one thing we can agree on is that we don't want Government regulation in sensitive programing areas and another thing is that television, if it is to be a mature medium, has to be permitted to deal with sensitive and controversial themes, hopefully with good taste.

Mr. Waxman. I appreciate your comments, and we do disagree on the effect of whether we are accomplishing that, even if it were a voluntary acceptance by the networks, the family viewing concept.

But I want to discuss another possibility with you, one you commented upon in your earlier statement, but so cursory that I wanted a further explanation of it, and that is this matter that has been on the docket for 6 years, that would have a mandating of a certain percentage of programing for children specifically.

You indicated you thought that wasn't too germane. It seems to me that, if we are talking about something that would provide the diversity of programing, it is quite germane.

You also indicated that you thought that it was an unwarranted intrusion, but I wonder how you reconcile that view with the fact that we have equal time provisions and a Fairness Doctrine and other mandatory affirmative requirements that we place upon television stations.

Mr. Wiley. Well, I am certain that this was not intentional, but let me just say that docket 19154, to which you now allude, was not fully described to this subcommittee. We are talking about a proposal that deals with a very limited area, comparative hearings involving an incumbent licensee who is being challenged by someone who has filed against this licensee. In this hearing the Commission looks at whether or not the incumbent has provided substantial or, if you will, superior performance.

Mr. Geller supports the concept of percentages, program percentages for news, public affairs, and local programing. That was the understanding I had, that the concept applies to those areas and not to percentages for children's programing. But the mere fact that we in this hearing have made that quick extension points up one of the reasons why I have a lot of trouble with the concept.

I am a little troubled by the Government having program percentages, you know, for all these areas. I don't want to be the master programer of a broadcast system. One of the fine things about our broadcasting system—and we do focus on a lot of its deficits, but there are some benefits to it—is the concept of diversity. Different people are doing their thing in different ways, and I am not sure I want them all to follow lockstep what Government decides is best in some preconceived notion.

But let me say that this proposal only deals with comparative hearings involving an incumbent licensee, and percentages for news, public affairs, and local programing. Let me say that a decision on that is imminent.

Mr. WAXMAN. I am pleased to hear that. Perhaps we can discuss it at another time, how the process can be speeded up so that nothing would remain on the docket for 6 years. But let me put that aside. That is really not what I want to discuss with you in the few minutes that I have.

I want to focus in on the specific question of requiring a reasonable amount of television time to be devoted to programs specifically for children in prime time. What is your view of that kind of proposal, specifically?

Mr. WILEY. I have some question about that. The subcommittee is going to hear from Mrs. Charren a little later, and she did make a proposal that each broadcaster be required to do 14 hours of children's programing a week. The Commission turned that down, stating that it did not feel it appropriate for the Government to prescribe a set number of hours.

Mr. WAXMAN. I said "a reasonable amount of time." My next question would be whether you would be willing to define it, if you are willing to accept the concept of reasonable number of hours. If you are not willing to accept the concept of reasonable number of hours devoted to specific programing for children——

Mr. WILEY. The Commission came out with a policy statement that said that each broadcaster had to do some children's programing with a reasonable portion devoted to educational material.

We necessarily and, I think, appropriately, left a great deal of discretion to the individual broadcaster. Obviously, under such a system, some people are going to take advantage of it. Some aren't going to do what you and I would like to see them do as public trustees.

I think the other side of the coin is that I am not sure we want the Government saying: "Do so much programing for children, so much programing for older people, so much programing for blacks, so much programing for all sort of good categories of people." I think when you get down to it, you would have very little left for licensee discretion.

I don't question the sincerity of those who would like programing percentages. I just question in my own mind that it is the way to really bring about quality and diverse programing.

Mr. WAXMAN. Do you disagree with the notion that we ought to require a certain amount of attention be paid to public issues and the Fairness Doctrine? Would you question that also?

Mr. WILEY. I don't question the idea that we should have a reasonable amount of programing for children or public affairs or news. I want to make that very clear. And, indeed, the Commission has made a delegation to its staff on news, public affairs, and local programing, for precisely the reasons that Mr. Geller mentioned. We think that is a fundamental part of a licensee's responsibility to an informed electorate, but we do give a great deal of licensee discretion and these are not absolutes.

Mr. WAXMAN. Is there a requirement at the present time that there be a reasonable amount of programing for education for children or directed to children?

Mr. WILEY. There is a Commission policy statement that every broadcaster should do some children's programing, and I think the term is "a reasonable portion" or "a substantial portion" of this time should be devoted to educational material, not necessarily classroom type material, but some of the richer values of our society.

I support that general language. I would question when you get into a precise 2 percent, 14 hours a week, et cetera, although I think the people who propose that, again, are acting in good faith.

Mr. WAXMAN. One disagreement we had last year, which is quite analogous, was the question of amount of time that ought to be given on television for airing of different points of view during a campaign.

One of the problems we saw was that the networks were saying at least for a period of time that they were unwilling to sell more than 5 minutes to any candidate for President of the United States—sell, not give—up until the conventions were held to determine who the nominees were.

I recall raising that issue, whether that 5 minutes was a reasonable amount of time, and I gather the reluctance at that time was to define it. Is that an analogous kind of view that you would take, defining what a reasonable amount of viewing time would be for children?

Mr. WILEY. In that instance, Congress decided that a broadcaster will be a common carrier, unlike the other situations we are talking about. Congress has mandated reasonable access for political candidates, and what we are dealing with is: What is the definition of "reasonable access"? Is it 5-minute spots? Is it half-hour programing?

I think necessarily that it has to be defined in terms of the specific election at which we are looking, because there are a multiplicity of candidates running every fall, and the Commission has to look at the situation and decide: Did the station in terms of the overall demands placed upon it by political candidates give reasonable access?

Congress has given us no definitive definition. I doubt that you probably can. Congress has left it to the Commission to try to make reasonable judgments, and as a result we have, from time to time, overruled broadcaster judgments in that area and in others, we have affirmed them.

For example, in a case that you are aware of, WGN in Chicago, we held that a policy implemented since 1957 that the station would not even sell less than 5 minutes to a candidate was unreasonable. I must say that I dissented, along with Commissioner Robinson, to that judgment. So it is a tough area.

Mr. WAXMAN. While you describe it is a tough area to define it and you also raise some serious questions about whether we ought to define it, you have not, I gather, raised the issue that the first amendment would preclude the FCC from mandating that a certain amount of time, if the policy were decided that we wanted to mandate a certain amount of time be geared toward children during prime time.

Mr. WILEY. Remember, Congress mandated in section 312 reasonable access. We are following congressional dictates. Similarly, with the equal time law, which you have mandated, and many people be-

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lieve you mandated a fairness doctrine. So we are carrying out your mandate in that regard and fulfilling our statutory obligations.

Mr. **Waxman**. The first amendment wouldn't prohibit even Congress from acting as we already discussed at other times.

Mr. **Wiley**. I don't think the first amendment prohibits broadcasters from providing reasonable time for discussion of public issues, but I can tell you this, that you get very close to it in many respects, and it is a complex area. If, for example, the Commission were constantly to intervene and say: "We think you should do this—you should cover this issue, you should give so much time for that particular subject," I believe you could see some problems in that.

Mr. **Waxman**. I see we have a first amendment issue, but I agree with Mr. Geller's testimony that it is not violative of the first amendment to have affirmative burden placed upon the licensees to show certain kinds of shows.

Now, of course, the policy question is: How much of that are you going to do? Whether you are going to spell it out, whether it will be numerical percentages. I gather you generally lean to that conclusion, but you are raising the issue that it may be one for later judicial determination.

Mr. **Wiley**. I am saying that the fairness doctrine, I think, is constitutional. I believe we can require broadcasters to devote a reasonable amount of time to discussion of public issues. However, I do question the amount of intrusiveness of the Government, because you could end up with a very bland premolded Government concept of broadcasting, and, whatever the weakness of our system, is far better than any system where the Government directed all the programing, no matter how wise, omniscient, and fair-minded it would be in its role as a manager.

Mr. **Waxman**. I guess one of the criticisms with family viewing is that we are ending up with that result.

Mr. **Wiley**. I am telling the industries here and now, as I have many, many times before, that if family viewing is not their thing, get rid of it. But what is interesting is that the NAB, following the court's very strong opinion, in which, as you well know, I took a pretty heavy beating, reenacted the family viewing principle, which strikes me as somewhat inconsistent with the idea that I was around coercing them. But we will let an appeals court decide that.

Mr. **Waxman**. Thank you.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Mr. Luken?

Mr. **Luken**. Mr. Wiley, I don't have the answers here, but I think one of the problems is that we are dealing with a bogus legal principle. I think it is the *Red Lion* case that says that we are dealing with censorship as an issue in programing, in broadcasting, with certain exceptions, and I submit that if we make any exceptions to the first amendment, then we don't have a first amendment.

I come from Cincinnati, and we have had a recent prosecution there about which there is less than total agreement throughout the country.

Because of the application of the principle of the first amendment, the first amendment applies to all press except pornography, however it may be defined. But that, in my opinion, is where the courts have wrestled with a first amendment principle unevenly, incorrectly, or inaccurately.

I think the problem is that we are now talking about censorship, when there is obvious censorship as soon as we grant the license. That is the beginning of the censorship and the beginning of the illogic, and the fallacies which follow.

You say here: "Nor do I think it appropriate to require the American people to follow the personal program preference of FCC Commissioners." We may not think it appropriate to require the American people to follow the personal programing preferences of the licensees, nor to follow the programing preferences of the advertisers. It depends on where you are coming from.

I don't think we are dealing in an area of censorship. I don't think we have censorship as an issue. I think we have decided that there is censorship because the public controls the airwaves and exclusive channels, and it is a question of how much to control, where to control, and when to control.

That is all I have to say. I would like to have your reaction.

Mr. WILEY. Let me just make a brief comment on it. Our system of broadcasting, however imperfect, is premised on the concept that broadcasters will ascertain problems, needs, and interests of their local community and program accordingly.

In other words, we place the broadcaster, under the system that Congress designed in 1934, in the primary role of making programing selections. They are mortals. They are individuals, and they make mistakes, errors, and omissions. Hopefully, those could be corrected by citizen activity and input.

We require now broadcasters to have a continuous dialog with the local community and to try to respond to their concerns. I suppose you could say that one of the greatest concerns that American people have discussed is excessive violence, and I would think that some of the efforts the industry has been making in the family viewing area and with Hollywood producers and advertising agencies, under the leadership of Wilson Wearn of the NAB and Vince Wasilewski, I think, is premised on the concept that the American people have expressed their desire for less violence. In other words, the system has some corrective aspects within the private sector that preclude the necessity for Government regulation, because I would suggest to you that there are dangers in Government regulation which exceed any danger that we may have of some mistake being made in the private sector. I think those are corrective; Government regulation, program regulation, is not.

Mr. LUKEN. Do you consider licensees in the private sector?

Mr. WILEY. Yes, I consider them in the private sector. I think they are private businesses.

Mr. LUKEN. If they have the exclusive use of the channel as granted by the public sector——

Mr. WILEY. They are private businesses entrusted with a public trusteeship, a public responsibility, but they are private businesses nonetheless.

Mr. LUKEN. We had this discussion on the withholding of natural gas in another subcommittee, as to whether corporations have a conscience, a soul, or responsibility in how they discharge public trust. We are talking about licensees who are not individuals, but companies there to make a profit. They have a legal duty to make a profit, and, where in effect it conflicts with public trust or public trust concept, individual licensees have a duty to follow the profit line.

Mr. **Wiley**. This committee is looking at [illegible] Communications Act. Perhaps you can come up with a better system, but suffice it to say that in 1934 the framers of the current act decided not to opt for an all-Government system or to auction off the frequencies in an all-private system, but to create this hybrid, taking a public resource and licensing it into private hands and having a Government agency regulate in the public interest, but not censor.

Now, I suggest to you that this system has inherent rubbing points and conflicts, and we are always going to be faced with this problem of private against public responsibilities.

Hopefully, there are countervailing protections, and one of them is public involvement in the process. That is one of the most important aspects of localism in broadcasting, and I would hate to see that broken down.

Mr. **Luken**. Thank you.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Ms. Mikulski?

Ms. **Mikulski**. No questions.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Mr. Moorhead?

Mr. **Moorhead**. Mr. Wiley, I want to commend you also for the family viewing hour, which I think certainly has made it easier for people with children to rely on the programs their children watch during the early hours of the evening.

I know none of us wants to see the Government or the bureaucracy come into any kind of censorship of programs, but is there anything that we can do or anything that we are now doing that stands in the way of the various networks coming together on standards that they can agree upon?

Mr. **Wiley**. Well, I think the antitrust laws probably provide an impediment to that. I think that there is a serious question as to whether the networks can get together and make any kind of concerted agreement in this regard.

Mr. **Moorhead**. Do you have any suggestions on ways the antitrust laws could be modified so that some sort of agreement in this area could be reached and at the same time not violate our concept of interference with competition?

Mr. **Wiley**. I don't know about the antitrust laws. That is beyond my area of specific expertise. I did see the NAB Code, and, to the extent it is followed by the independent stations, it is at least one area where broadcasters can have a self-regulatory standard that would, I think stand the legal test. I still believe that, when the appellate court has spoken on family viewing, there will be such a thing as an NAB Code. I would hate to see the law prohibit self-regulatory codes, because, if you can't have Government regulation and you can't have self-regulatory codes, you have nothing left but the individual broadcaster's own judgment, and, although that is a very important aspect of it, I think he could be assisted by an overall industry standard.

Mr. **Moorhead**. Thank you very much.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Thank you, Mr. Wiley. We very much appreciate your testimony on this volatile issue.

Let us go on. Mr. Wasilewski? Mr. Wasilewski is president of the NAB. He is accompanied by Wilson Wearn, chairman of the joint board of directors for the NAB and president of Multimedia Broadcasting Company.

It will be our intent with the remaining witnesses, where possible, to present them as a panel—to have individual statements, but then to have them questioned as a panel. I think this will not only help set out the testimony in more logical order, but will hasten the completion of our chores.

Mr. Wasilewski, welcome.

STATEMENT OF VINCENT WASILEWSKI, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS, ACCOMPANIED BY WILSON C. WEARN, CHAIRMAN, JOINT BOARD OF DIRECTORS, NAB, AND PRESIDENT, MULTIMEDIA, INC.

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Vincent Wasilewski. I am president of the National Association of Broadcasters. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today and to make some comments on television violence and also to introduce to you our distinguished chairman of the NAB Board.

As broadcasters, we are part of the free press of this Nation, with not only the protection of the first amendment, but the duty, implicit under this constitutional provision, to remain independent of outside control. As such, we were pleased to note the chairman's comments that there was no intent with these hearings to move in the direction of an abridgment of these freedoms.

Yet, to be responsive and responsible, we must and do take note of our environment and the pressures that shape it. One of those pressures most certainly is the concern of members of the public over violence on television and its possible effect on the youth of this Nation.

We recognize it as a problem now, as we have in the past, but the difficulty arises when we talk about how to define it and then what to do about it once we do agree that it is objectionable to some segments of the public.

Broadcasters pride themselves on being close to their communities and think that they know how the citizens of this country regard the programing that they provide. So, when a problem does exist, such as violence on television, we know it will be up to us to deal with it through self-regulation and self-discipline.

As an association that has been an umbrella for all segments of the broadcast industry, from the small market licensee to the biggest network, we have provided leadership in a continuing effort to reduce violence on television and confine it to time periods when parents might better control the programs viewed by their children.

As you are well aware, one of our efforts at self-regulation, known popularly as family viewing time, was challenged in the courts and, as a result, it is not at this time enforced as part of our national code of good practices. I might add that, because we disagree with some portion of the decision of the court, we are now involved in an appeal on this matter.

Nonetheless, family viewing was a conscientious attempt by this industry to take a positive step to contain violence on television, and it was an indication that we acknowledge the problem and assume our share of the burden of finding some type of solution.

Mr. Chairman, even though we were initially discouraged by the trial court's decision, we are still committed to doing something about excessive violence in television programing. At the NAB's most recent board meeting in January, we resolved to attempt to draft program guidelines that we believe will help to reduce the problem. We are making an effort to secure as many views as possible on the proposed guidelines.

Even when these guidelines are developed, they will be strictly voluntary for each individual broadcaster. We do not require anyone to belong to our code, or can we, under the court decision, move to take any type of enforcement action if a code member violates a programing provision of the code.

We propose to provide some standards by which both the broadcaster and the public can judge programing. In this manner we hope to create a climate which will result in a reduction of objectionable programing.

I say "reduction" rather than "elimination" because violence and violent acts will always be with us. It is part of our past, as "Roots" so graphically demonstrated. It is part of our present, as we are constantly reminded each day by current events throughout the world. To totally remove it from television programing would be to warp the view of life just as surely as violence in every program would totally misrepresent our culture.

We think we need to point out that, as broadcasters, we have no monopoly on providing access to violence. One can see it in books, magazines, newspapers, and certainly in the movies. We do understand that, because of the nature of television, our duty to act may seem more pressing and the impact of our programing may appear to have more significance than it actually does.

I think it appropriate to add here that our effort to develop guidelines for violence in programing will include, as it already has, contacts with creative writers and producers who charged that our last effort was a violation of their constitutional rights of free expression. From our preliminary discussion with them, it seems as though they recognize the problem and are willing to discuss possible actions that would help lessen it. Of course, they too are quite concerned over any attempts to censor their creative product, and their attitude toward our guidelines is still to be determined.

Mr. Chairman, let me conclude my testimony with a short summary. Too much violence and violence at the wrong viewing hour are things that we are concerned about. But, as with many things in the first amendment area, such as obscenity, violence can have as many definitions as there are television viewers. And whatever we do that may seem logical to some will still leave others unhappy.

However, we do intend to try, without giving away any part of our independence and without destroying any part of control over our programming. We welcome assistance from any quarter, but the final decisions on how to approach this problem must remain in the hands of the broadcaster. We believe we have a duty to act and we believe we can and will act responsibly in the public interest.

Thank you.

Now I would like to introduce to you the chairman of our joint board of directors, Mr. Wilson Wearn.

STATEMENT OF WILSON C. WEARN

Mr. WEARN. Mr. Chairman, I am Wilson Wearn, president of Multimedia, Inc., and chairman of the NAB's Joint Radio and Television Board.

Because of my duties with NAB and also because I am a broadcaster, parent, and concerned citizen of Greenville, S.C., I am vitally interested in these hearings on the issues of sex and violence on television.

While I am speaking for the NAB, I am also here as one of hundreds of television broadcasters in this Nation who bear the ultimate responsibility of programing provided the American public. In my testimony, I want to make it clear to you that I am quite aware of the problems we face, and I personally believe that there are too many violent acts and offensive displays of sex on television.

I also want to describe to you the mechanism that serves to keep me in touch with the people I serve and the course of action that NAB is following to deal with these problems.

Let me begin at the local level, because this is the public's first line of defense against broadcast programing that is found to be offensive in any way. As a broadcast licensee, I am charged by the Federal Government with maintaining close contact with the people of my service area through the process known to you as ascertainment.

On a continuing basis, we meet formally with leaders representing all segments of our communities. We interview them as to their thoughts in areas of special expertise. We find them usually anxious to talk with us, and we have learned to listen carefully.

In a similarly structured way, we are [illegible] for several purposes to survey our service area to find out what the general public thinks. Through hundreds of telephone and personal interviews, we are able to get the views of a great many citizens.

In addition, we use less formal ways to check out the views of our public. On at least three occasions each year, American Research Bureau and Nielsen survey each market, and we make sure that we examine the material that they gather. It is our practice on a regular basis to check comments of those who have completed diaries, and we make certain that our program managers are aware of these expressions of the public.

We are in contact with citizens and organizations of all descriptions who provide us with their thoughts on our programming. We keep records of these conversations.

Finally, we get mail—lots of it, sometimes—and phone calls expressing views on the program fare that appears on our channels. In all likelihood, this process sounds familiar to Members of Congress whom I know have similar lines of communication to your people in communities.

I have recounted this process to you because I wanted you to know that broadcasters are involved in their communities and, therefore, are aware of the problems that we have with sex and violence in programing. This process of communication is a continuing one that requires each licensee to be an active part of his community and makes us equally aware of the things that we do wrong as well as the things that we do right.

On many occasions we have received complaints about poor taste in the handling of sex or the amount of violence in a particular show or series. These complaints are taken seriously by us. We make a note of them, and we make certain that our program people become aware of them.

If the complaint is about a network presentation, we notify the network and find that they usually contact the complaining individual. On occasion, when I have personally felt that the program was questionable, I have discussed the matter with network officials myself.

Mr. Frey. Have you ever pre-empted?

Mr. Walker. Yes, I have.

In short, at our stations and at most of the television stations that I am familiar with, we take the public and its thoughts about our programing very seriously, and when it is disturbed about something, then we are. As a businessman, I do not want to be giving the public something which angers and upsets it, and as a citizen and parent, I am conscious of my duty to provide a good, basic product that I can be proud of in my community.

At this juncture, I am going to assume my role as chairman of the Joint NAB Board, since I have already described to you the courses of action available to me as a licensee when a problem arises.

I want to begin by pointing out, as Vince Wasilewski has before me, that we have recognized this problem for some time now, and several years ago we took action through the NAB Code to deal with it by institution of the family viewing period in the code. Since at the moment that issue is in limbo because of litigation, we as an organization are proceeding in the following manner.

In January, representatives of the Television Code Review Board of NAB met with representatives of each of the three networks. We had discussions about sex and violence on television and the continuing need to be even more careful to use good taste and good judgment in programing decisions.

These meetings were quite constructive, and the networks expressed concern over the rising tide of criticism of television violence and assured the NAB Code representatives of their full cooperation as the industry seeks to find new and effective methods of self-regulation.

Let me add here that I have since read that at least two of the networks have indicated to their affiliates that next year's programing will consist of fewer action shows and have a reduction in violent acts.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. We have reached that point now, about 2 minutes before the end of a quorum call. Since the House is acting on questions of ethics today, it is a good day not to miss any votes or quorum calls. We can at least go that far.

Everyone is excused until 2 o'clock.

[Whereupon, at 1:55 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.]

AFTER RECESS

[The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Lionel Van Deerlin presiding.]

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Mr. Wasilewski, will you continue with your statement, please?

STATEMENT OF VINCENT T. WASILEWSKI—Resumed

Mr. WASILEWSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

At the break point, I had almost finished my statement. I had gotten to the point where I had described what we did on family viewing and stated that that effort was in limbo during the court decision, and I had started to describe what we are doing in the interim since the family viewing issue can no longer be acted upon by us in view of the decision of the court, and our appeal.

Incidentally, I might digress for a moment from my prepared remarks and state that I was proud and pleased with the action of our Board to institute the family viewing policy. I voted for it and am in favor of it. There are many illogical things about it, perhaps, but it took courage on the part of the television board to adopt that policy. They did it, and say what you will about the illogical things about it, nevertheless, it did indeed serve to clear up 2 hours of evening television time.

That is what we hoped that it would do, and we felt it was a good start in the right direction and I am pleased that our board did have the courage to institute it.

In January, representatives of the Television Code Review Board of N.A.B. met with representatives of each of the three networks. We had discussions about sex and violence on television and the continuing need to be even more careful to use good taste and good judgment in programming decisions.

These meetings were quite constructive, and the networks expressed concern over the rising tide of criticism of television violence and assured the N.A.B. Code representatives of their full cooperation as the industry seeks to find new and effective methods of self-regulation.

Let me add here that I have since read that at least two of the networks have indicated to their affiliates that next year's programming will consist of fewer action shows and have a reduction in violent acts.

On January 28, the N.A.B. Board of Directors directed the Code of Review Board to formulate some clear, strong advisory guidelines as to the treatment of sex and violence in television programming.

Several days later, the Code Board representatives met with a number of the producers of television programming on the west coast. Without exception, the producers expressed concern over the problem and a willingness to work with the broadcast industry in devising code guidelines. I believe that this commendable attitude bodes well for any effort to draft meaningful guidelines, but the program producers' continuing support is vital to our effort.

This month, our code board members will meet with representatives of the National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting and the American Medical Association. We are presently trying to schedule a meeting with the Parent-Teachers' Association and expect to meet with them in March also.

Each of these groups has publicly expressed concern over violence on television, and it is our intention to provide them with an opportunity to be heard as we try to formulate a new policy that we hope will meet their approval. It may be that we will meet with other groups and organizations during the process, but in any event, we hope to have a concrete plan by this summer.

Mr. Chairman, the NAB has no illusions that this process will be a smooth one and meet all concerns, but rather we expect that it will produce many differing views and opinions on how best to attack these problems. We all must recognize that this is an area where no precise measurements exist and where no clear answers will suddenly appear to the satisfaction of all.

Violence is not going to suddenly disappear on television just as it is not going to suddenly vanish from our society. But we are trying to do something about the total amount of violence and the programming that is offensive to the public.

I want to emphasize this point, because I firmly believe that the NAB Board has made a sincere and a sustained effort to do something about offensive programming, and I want that effort to continue, and I will personally work to see that it does.

By so doing, we believe that we are recognizing our responsibility to the American public. We will do so even though we have no real, hard evidence that television violence is the sole cause of any actual violence in this Nation. We will act, although we believe that the reduction of violence on television will be just a drop in the bucket when one considers all the other models of violent conduct that will continue to be available in our society.

We will act voluntarily in the NAB framework to deal with the concerns of parents and others, and we will encourage each of our code members to exercise restraint and self-discipline in this area.

As a broadcaster who wants to feel that I am contributing to my community and helping to make it a better place to raise and educate children, I pledge to you my continuing effort in this regard. I am confident that we can take some action that will improve the situation, and I believe we can do it without the interference of Government or outside interests.

I would be happy to try to answer any questions that you might have for me, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you, Mr. Wiers and Mr. Wasilewski.

Mr. Wiers, you are chairman of the board that runs the NAB Code?

Mr. Wiers. That is right.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Your typical television member is a network affiliate, is it not?

Mr. WEARN. More of them, I will say this, than otherwise, yes, sir. Some independent stations also belong to our association and to the code——

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. But only one station in four, nationally, is an independent——

Mr. WEARN. Most of our membership is network affiliated.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Yes. Are you satisfied that, as licensed operators, they have sufficient input in programing decisions as to what goes out over the air that they are licensed to occupy?

Mr. WEARN. Very frankly, I am not satisfied on that issue and I believe we would certainly welcome more input now.

By input, do you mean does the network have adequate input, or do the individual operators? Maybe I did not understand——

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Are your members making sufficient input on programing judgments to the network?

Mr. WEARN. We are giving a great amount of input to the network, I can assure you of that.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Other than just complaining?

Mr. WEARN. Other than just complaining, yes.

For instance, I recently completed service as a member of a board of delegates at NBC. From my personal experience there, I can tell you that through the representatives, representatives on that board of delegates—and the same holds true of other networks—a great deal of input on the feelings of the individual broadcasters regarding programing is given to the networks from that source.

We also have continuing dialog with them through letters and telephone calls.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. And this is a part of the process that you think is going to result in some better programing—that is, less violent programing—by the next season?

Mr. WEARN. That is part of what is going to happen, yes. In fact, it already has, I believe, worked to have a good effect on that, because I believe the networks are beginning to reduce the amount of violence due to the input both from the public and from their stations.

However, I think more important than that is the effort that we are going to try to make at NAB through a new effort on the code. I would reemphasize that our television code board—excuse me, our television board—is very sincere in wanting to do whatever it can, by any legal means, to help diminish the amount of sex and violence on television, and the new process that I have described to you we think is entirely legal, and that process would be hopefully to come up with more definite, more specific, stronger program guidelines, make them public so that the public could understand them also, as well as the broadcasters and then allow the networks and the stations to make their own interpretations and hopefully the public can also make a judgment as to whether they are going by those guidelines.

And we believe—I believe—if we can get them definitive enough they can have a very great effect on the end product.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Are you interested in encouraging more public response in the form of letters to licensees and the networks?

Mr. Wearn. Certainly.

I think you should also be aware—and I feel sure that you are—that the programing that we have on the air today on most of the stations, the networks, got violent because most of the people seem to prefer to watch that kind of programing. It got there through a competitive system which, in an effort to get more audience than competing networks, that type of programing crept more and more into it.

Due to our competitive, free-enterprise system, very frankly I think that is a tough thing to compete with. But I disagree with I guess the findings of Dr. Gerbner to the effect that the amount of violence, the amount of sex, had nothing to do with the audience on a particular show. I do not have any research to prove that point; I have a good many years——

Mr. Van Deerlin. You have a gut feeling.

Mr. Wearn. I have a good many years of experience, and I believe that it has a great deal to do with it and I believe that that is why it is there, because the large majority of people want to see that kind of programing. And I do not believe that that eliminates the responsibility of a broadcaster to try to elevate the taste of the public to try to put on a product that he thinks is good for all segments of his audience.

But it is a tough problem because we must program a great part of the time for mature audiences.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Of course, there are some signs that maybe the top ratings do not respond just to violence or explicit sex, are there not?

Mr. Wearn. No question. I do not think it is entirely related to violence at all. A great many other factors are involved.

But I do believe that action shows where there is a great deal of conflict is a very popular, popular form of entertainment and it has resulted in larger audiences.

Mr. Van Deerlin. I suppose the question might more properly, more logically, be directed to the CBS executive who will speak later, but I guess when they went for the granddaddy of all violence—when they had Evel Knievel promise that failure of a jump would drop him among man-eating sharks in a moat below—the public did not respond in the numbers that could even have satisfied the minimal requirements of a network program department, did they?

Mr. Wearn. Well, as I recall it, the president of CBS Television said publicly that that was a mistake and I think I would happen to agree with him. I am not an admirer of Evel Knievel, personally, either. But I do feel that action, conflict, violence on television, generally speaking, tends to promote more audience. I have a lot of experience to base that on, very little fact.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Was there any change in procedures that NAB utilizes in the operation of its code, were any changes made as a result of the Ferguson decision?

Mr. Wearn. Yes; unfortunately we are required by that decision to take no sanctions against any member of our code or our association.

Approximately 1½ or 2 years ago, our television board was seeking ways to strengthen the NAB Television Code, and to make it more effective. And after a public hearing on the matter, one of the things that we chose to do was to require that any member of the NAB, any television member of the NAB, also be a member of our code, and abide by it. And we thought that this would lead to having more members be subscribers of our television code and therefore improve the operation of it.

Unfortunately, we concluded from Judge Ferguson's decision that we can no longer do this. So that was one change that was made. We immediately had to eliminate the mandatory requirement that to belong to the NAB you must also belong to the code.

Additionally——

Mr. Van Deerlin. As being in restraint of trade?

Mr. Wearn. That is correct. Well, no—I do not know exactly why. Vince, do you know? I am not a lawyer, but Vince is.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Wasilewski?

Mr. Wasilewski. It was not necessarily in restraint of trade as far as that was concerned, but he tied it all in to the overall decision alleging that this was, in effect, governmental action and therefore we could not require somebody to belong to the code and make it a mandatory code requirement.

It was not necessarily restraint of trade, as such, because he still let that part of the decision——

Mr. Van Deerlin. What kind of sanction was it customary to impose under the code?

Mr. Wearn. The normal thing would be to prevent him from being a member of the code and prevent him from displaying the seal of good practice on the air.

But we also went to the extent of also requiring him to drop out of NAB membership if he did not subscribe to the code, and that, I think, is what Judge Ferguson ruled, as I understood it, from my reading of it, that we could not take the privileges of membership in the association away from anybody because they did not subscribe to the code. So it eliminated that.

Mr. Van Deerlin. What are some of the privileges that a broadcaster would sacrifice or forfeit by being kicked out?

Mr. Wearn. Right. What privileges?

Mr. Van Deerlin. Yes.

Mr. Wearn. Well, he would lose all membership services. In fact, we have many, many services to our affiliates, of an advisory nature, engineering, how to operate the station, how to abide by the FCC rules and so on. We also have representatives in Washington who are attempting to represent us with the Congress, and he would lose our representation also.

Mr. Van Deerlin. The only sanction you would impose was loss of membership, then?

Mr. Wearn. That is correct. Except that we would also take away from the code member the right to display the seal of good practice that is traditional for the member of the NAB Code and take away his right to belong to that code.

Of course, where we disagreed with the decision—and I guess I cannot talk very much about this decision—but it seems to me that there should be nothing wrong with it, provided that an individual broadcaster who belonged to the code had the full right to resign any time he wanted to if he found that the operation of the code was in conflict with his beliefs regarding what should be put on the air.

But the other thing that we have done differently now is that we are seeking to strengthen the code substantially by attempting to come up with definitive, specific program guidelines that hopefully members of the public, broadcasters, and Members of Congress would be able to read and determine from their information whether or not a network or a station is really living up to these guidelines.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Are the networks subscribers of the code?

Mr. WEARN. Yes; they are.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Wirth.

Mr. WIRTH. I have no questions.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Markey?

Mr. MARKEY. No questions.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Luken?

Mr. LUKEN. Mr. Wearn, I believe Mr. Wasilewski's testimony says that he disagrees, or that you disagree, with some portions of the decision of the court on the family viewing time.

I wonder if you would elaborate on that. What specific portions of the decision are you in disagreement with?

Mr. WEARN. Well, perhaps you ought to comment, Vince, since it is in your statement. I can do it, but since he is also a lawyer, it would probably be preferable for him to comment. But if you would like me to, I will.

Mr. LUKEN. Either way. I do not object, I am not a lawyer; I cannot answer it.

Mr. WEARN. OK; let me attempt.

Mr. LUKEN. Just on general principles.

Mr. WEARN. Well, on general principles, we feel that basically it takes away from our association the right to effectively police our own industry and have a voluntary code which sets standards that are enforceable by that code to the extent that it can kick out a member if he does not want to conform to it.

We think that the court decision eliminated that as a possibility for us, and we feel that our industry should have a right to have an enforceable code.

Mr. LUKEN. Of course, the factual situation was that the FCC was involved. I have not read the decision, but reading all of these reports about it—and maybe Mr. Wasilewski would want to answer this—if the FCC had not been involved, maybe the decision would be in agreement with what you are saying, and maybe that is why you are appealing it.

Mr. WEARN. Well, we do not think the decision limits it only to family viewing per se, which is to say that it limited it to that thing that was a violation of the first amendment. It prevents us, we think, from having constructive dialog with the networks about their programing, for instance.

That is what we think that the decision would do if it stays as it is now.

Mr. **Luken**. Of course, from a public policy standpoint, if the three networks get together to establish policy, we may be as concerned about that as FCC establishing policy.

Mr. **Wearn**. No question.

But we feel that our code board should be able to set programing standards, and as long as the network wants to be a member of it that they would have a right to be a member and then if we felt that they did not subscribe to our standards, we should be able to ask them to leave the code. We do not think that we can do that under this decision.

Vince, would you expand on that?

Mr. **Wasilewski**. You have done a good job.

The judge accepted as a conclusion of fact that the FCC, through Chairman Wiley, participated in the decision of the code board and pressured the code board to take this action. The judge went to the next step and said that because of that involvement, this became a violation of the first amendment because it, in effect, amounted to governmental action in the area of freedom of speech and violated the first amendment rights of the public.

Mr. **Luken**. Could I interrupt there?

Mr. **Wasilewski**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Luken**. Part of your reason for appeal, therefore, is to try to establish the legal principles free of the factual situations which confuse the issue.

Mr. **Wasilewski**. Well, I think the factual deductions that he reached were wrong, but over and above that, he went beyond that and said the language, as Mr. Geller pointed out, that you could conclude that even absent any involvement by government in our decision as a voluntary code to take the same action would be violative of the first amendment.

That is what we are concerned about. This is specifically what we are appealing.

Mr. **Luken**. That is what you are concerned about, that principle?

Mr. **Wasilewski**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Luken**. You might agree that because of the action of the FCC that would not be your point on the appeal?

Mr. **Wasilewski**. That is correct, sir.

Mr. **Luken**. To reverse the whole thing.

Mr. **Wasilewski**. That is correct.

In other words—I have always explained it this way. Years ago it was legal to have discriminatory clauses and restrictive covenants. Back in 1949, and before the State courts effectively recognized a restrictive covenant as a legitimate contract and allowed people to put those restrictive covenants in.

In 1949, the Supreme Court ruled—in the case, I recall, of *Shelley v. Kraemer*—that when a State court upheld a contract involving a restrictive covenant, this amounted to State action. And that was a departure from the law, that was a new step in the law, to find that violative of the first amendment.

Now, this case, too, is a brand new departure, as I view it, wherein they have said now that action by a private, code-review board, such as NAB can be action violative of the first amendment, and that is a long departure from previous cases, and basically that is what we are appealing.

Mr. **Wearn.** That is what I really meant, but it did not come out that way.

Mr. **Luken.** All right.

Let me try to phrase the question. A licensee is convinced that sex and violence sell, increase the ratings. What problems does the licensee have within its own board of directors, within its own decision process, if that is going to increase the profits, in following the kind of public policy which I think you were referring to as I left the room to go put in my appearance just before lunch?

You have contradictions here. How do you sort them out?

Mr. **Wearn.** Perhaps there are, but the way that I sort them out is this way.

We run a business that requires us to be a private trustee. If we are going to stay in that business, we are going to have to be a responsible trustee over the years, and if we are not, then we are not going to have a business.

And to that end, I think it makes not only good business sense, but good sense morally and ethically as a citizen to have restraint on the amount of violence and the amount of sex that you would allow on the air. That is the way that I look at it.

So it is a matter of a licensee making a conscientious, informed judgment regarding what restraints he is going to impose on himself so as to assure that he is a responsible public trustee.

Mr. **Luken.** As provided in the license?

Mr. **Wearn.** Absolutely.

Mr. **Luken.** Because of the conditions of the license?

Mr. **Wearn.** Because of that, and of course, because of the Communications Act and the FCC rules.

Mr. **Luken.** All right, thank you. That clarifies that a little bit.

I just want to ask one other side question. Are you familiar with any stockholders' suits by church organizations where the share of stock is purchased by a church organization, a share of stock in the licensee, the network, and a derivative suit—a stockholder's suit is either filed or threatened for the purpose of reducing the amount of sex or violence?

If you are, what comment would you have about such action, if any?

Mr. **Wearn.** I am aware of it, but I am not familiar with specific cases. I am aware of it.

Mr. **Luken.** Is this a legitimate proceeding?

Mr. **Wearn.** Certainly, it is legitimate. Unfortunately, in dealing with this issue of sex and violence, we are dealing with something that you cannot define. You are dealing with something that has a different connotation with one person than it has with another. So in various sections of the country, people have different attitudes toward it.

I would say, for instance, in the southeast where I live—although we operate stations——

Mr. LUKEN. I am from Cincinnati.

Mr. WEARN. Yes, I am aware and we are very happy to operate there—and there is very little sex and violence on the Bob Brown Show, I might add, in Cincinnati.

Getting back to your question——

Mr. LUKEN. It used to be "Banned in Boston." Now it is "Convicted in Cincinnati."

Mr. WEARN. Certainly I think it is a legitimate course of action to take.

Mr. LUKEN. Is it effective?

Mr. WEARN. I do not really believe it would be effective unless it represents the opinion of a large segment of people.

For instance, in——

Mr. LUKEN. What would you think would be the chances of success of such a suit by a single stockholder, say the Presbyterian Church?

Mr. WEARN. I would not attempt to make a judgment on that because I really do not know the facts. I am not a lawyer.

But I would say that any sort of effort by any group is a legitimate effort—I mean, it is a reasonable effort, so long as it is legal. One thing, I recall discussing this particular subject at a Baptist Conference in Fort Worth about a year ago, and they got to a discussion about the effectiveness of letters that they send in all the time, you know, stimulative letters—which I think is fine and is a part of the process—but I suggested to them that it seemed to me that if they could induce their constituency not to look at the programs that are violent, that would be even more effective.

I think that if people did not look at them, they would disappear very quickly, because the audience would drop.

But I do not really believe that that is a practical solution, unfortunately. It seems to me that people have demonstrated that they want to look at that sort of thing.

So then it is incumbent upon those who have the responsibility to set reasonable restraints and live by them. And if we are going to do that, in my judgment, it is going to be tremendously effective for us to be able to have a viable, effective industry code to deal with the problem and set standards that most of us can abide by as a minimum.

Mr. LUKEN. Thank you. Your answers have been very responsive.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Gore?

Mr. GORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Wasilewski, as president of the NAB, you now have possibly the pivotal role as far as the family viewing hour is concerned since the FCC is entirely out of it. If there is to be an informal coordinating function, then I suppose that will be played by the NAB. Is that your feeling?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. I think that would be a fair deduction; yes, sir.

Mr. GORE. How do you propose to solve this problem relating to the central time zone?

Mr. WASILEWSKI. I have no solution for it as of now. Basically, the family viewing hour was set up to provide a window, if you will, of 2 hours, and that window here, was 7 to 9 on the east coast, and of course, 6 to 8 in the Midwest.

I remember a lot of discussion—I happen to be from the Midwest, too; I am from Illinois—and I remember a lot of discussion at that time talking about the expense involved in changing the hours of the programing in the Midwest, and the discussion revolved around the fact that the news occurs in Chicago around 10 rather than 11 as it does here—and I am aware of that fact—and I am also aware of the fact that I think most people go to bed earlier in the Midwest than we do in the East as a result probably of—I do not know whether as a result of television or what it is a result of. I think it is a fact of life—and I think people get up earlier in the Midwest to go to work.

I do not know what the answer to it is. I have no solution to the problem other than to say that it still was a 2-hour window that was reached without anybody being confident that it was the total answer to all problems, but at least it was a step forward.

Mr. Gore. Well, no matter how early people go to bed, a lot of kids are still watching television at 8 o'clock——

Mr. Wasilewski. And at 10 o'clock here, too.

Mr. Gore. Pardon me?

Mr. Wasilewski. And 10 o'clock here, too, for that matter.

Mr. Gore. Right. I think at some point, as I said earlier, it is reasonable to shift that responsibility totally, or virtually totally, to the parents to turn the television off, but it does seem to be unreasonable to have mayhem and violence begin at 8 o'clock at night in the central time district.

What about the problem of compliance by the networks or affiliates with the informal agreement? How do you propose to get at that?

Mr. Wasilewski. Well, based upon the court decision, as it is presently situated, at least, it would have to be a total voluntary operation wherein there would be guidelines set forth and then the members of the public, primarily, and competitors of the stations who have subscribed to the code would blow the whistle, if you will, on violations because there would be a preclusion of any overall enforcement authority emanating from any consortium of broadcasters in or networks from a central authority. Under the Ferguson decision.

Mr. Gore. Does the NAB have an objection to the procedure recommended by Chairman Wiley in his informal discussions concerning the warning light, or the warning dot, to be shown during programs that might be expected to offend parents who were concerned about young children watching?

Mr. Weary. I will tackle that one.

The NAB has not attempted to formulate a policy on it, and it would take a discussion and an action by the Television Board to determine that, and we have not done it. But I would like to suggest to you that where this might help in areas where there is parental guidance—there are two sides to that question.

I can recall some years ago when my son was a good bit younger, and on a Saturday afternoon I was in the kitchen in my house and

I heard him excitedly jump up and get on the telephone and start calling the neighborhood kids and tell them to watch channel 13. And then he called me, fortunately, to come in, too.

I said, what is it? Oh, he said, the networks just flashed a signal on here that they have something that is an exceptionally bad wreck and they are going to rerun it and they are warning parents, you know, that children might not want to see it. Come on in. He had called all the neighborhood to get them all alerted.

So I think that where we certainly want to do everything we can to encourage parental supervision of children watching television, we, again, as responsible licensees have to be cognizant of the facts that there are millions of homes where parents are not around to supervise the children, and I think that has to be in our minds when we formulate our policy.

Mr. GORE. Well, I think that that objection to the policy that I am questioning you about presupposes that parents will not take a role in trying to solve this problem, and those of us who are concerned about parents being able to do a better job of that want to promote a partnership if you will, between the television stations and networks to make it easier for parents to do the kind of job in this television age that they did when books were the dominant medium.

Mr. WALKER. We have, of course, advisories that are flashed on the screen now, but of course, the red light might be more effective, I do not know. But we have no position on it, but certainly we have not opposed it.

Mr. GORE. You are the only representative, if I am not mistaken, during these hearings, and I am concerned that the policy in this area has been directed almost entirely at networks rather than at affiliates because the nature of the Federal Communications Act puts the point of leverage, I think, with the affiliates rather than with the networks.

Is it your position that when renewal of your license comes up that there is a presumption in favor of the current licenseholder?

Mr. WALKER. A presumption in favor of the current licenseholder?

Mr. GORE. If your license is challenged by a competitor who would like to have this scarce channel, that the Government parceled out to either you or someone else——

Mr. WALKER. It is my presumption that there would be favored treatment to an incumbent provided he had acted as a responsible licensee during the last licensing term.

Mr. GORE. So then it is up to the Government to determine whether or not you have acted as a responsible licensee. Otherwise, the Government is censoring the person who wants your channel—it belongs to the public; you have it; someone else wants it. If the Government denies it to your competitor, this is censoring him. In order to give it to you in a way that is not arbitrary, the Government has to make a rational decision based on a determination of whether or not you have acted in the public interest, correct?

Mr. WALKER. Hopefully it is a rational decision, yes.

Mr. GORE. Do you think that a determination of what the public interest is could include the prevalence of violence that you have broadcast into the community which you serve?

Mr. Wussler. I really do not. I think that it would be—again putting on my legal hat, since I am not a lawyer—it seems to me that it would be a violation of the first amendment completely and I would certainly shudder to think about the Government trying to determine what is violent and what is not and to what degree is something violent and I just do not see how the Government could do it.

Mr. Gore. Well, thank you.

We are running out of time, Mr. Chairman, and I will hold any further questions.

Mr. Van Deerlin. I was hopeful Mr. Waxman could get his question in before he has to run and answer the bell.

Mr. Waxman. Well, it is an incentive for me to ask a very few and short questions, and I will try to do that, but I was interested with your analogy to Members of Congress, that you and we try to be in communication with our constituents by questionnaires of whatever form we might engage in including the mail and phone calls that we receive, and I guess the analogy was even extended to the point where you would give a presumption to incumbents—perhaps something that is attractive to some of us, who are incumbents.

But I am trying to think through that analogy of whether that serves the public interest and whether the decisions that really are in the public interest are really being decided by the public.

Several times in your testimony, you talked about the ultimate decision being up to the stations. Should the ultimate decision not be up to the public, and how can the public have a greater input into what kinds of decisions are being made, if there is not a diversity in programs?

Mr. Wussler. Maybe incumbent was a poor choice of words that I used; maybe I should have said the existing licensee.

But, no, according to the Communications Act, I certainly think that the licensee is the ultimate one to decide the programing, but I think it has to be done after a great deal of communications from the public and that is what we attempt to do.

Mr. Waxman. Do you think that the public really has a choice in programing——

Mr. Wussler. I certainly do.

Mr. Waxman [continuing]. With the stations that are now available and the programs that are now available?

Mr. Wussler. A wide choice. I do not feel that there is a wide choice available for 20 hours a day every day, because I think one of the greatest problems that we have in the industry is that television eats up, uses, horrendous amounts of programing material and there is a limit on the creative talents available in this country to produce more.

But if you take the programing on a given station or a group of stations in a community there is certainly a wide diversity over a period of a month.

Mr. Waxman. I appreciate your response.

Thank you, I have no further questions.

Mr. Wussler. Thank you.

Mr. Wirth [presiding]. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for being with us.

Mr. Wiley. Thank you.

Mr. Wasilewski. Thank you.

Mr. Wirth. Our next witness—let me explain, if I might, very quickly the procedure which has been agreed to that the representatives of the three networks will individually present their testimony, first CBS, second NBC, and third ABC. And then the three representatives will together as a panel have the opportunity for exchange with the subcommittee.

So with that, perhaps we might start with Mr. Schneider from CBS.

Mr. Schneider, did you have Mr. Sauter with you? Is that right?

Mr. Schneider. Yes, Mr. Chairman. Gordon Sauter is with me, but he does not have a prepared statement. He will be made available to the panel.

Mr. Wirth. Thank you very much and welcome. Thank you for waiting.

STATEMENT OF JOHN A. SCHNEIDER, PRESIDENT, CBS BROADCAST GROUP, ACCOMPANIED BY VAN GORDON SAUTER, VICE PRESIDENT, PROGRAM PRACTICES, CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Mr. Schneider. Good afternoon, Mr. Wirth.

My name is Jack Schneider. I am president of the CBS Broadcast Group and I am here to represent CBS in this proceeding——

Mr. Wirth. I might point out that I am sure the other members will come back. Mr. Van Deerlin and I have tried to rotate so that we can keep the hearing going while votes are going on. They will all be back very shortly. There is a vote currently on the rule on the ethics question.

Mr. Schneider. I welcome the opportunity to appear before this subcommittee to present the views of CBS on the issue of violence and television. We at CBS regard this as a most serious matter, and we try to deal with it in a responsible manner. We have pursued a course of action that has greatly reduced the number of violent incidents portrayed—and greatly altered the depiction of those incidents—on the CBS television network.

Our initial approach, in the late 1960's, was to change our Saturday morning programing for children. The superheroes were phased out, replaced in part by entertainment programs carrying prosocial and informative messages.

Our efforts and successes in this area were recently summarized in a booklet that we published entitled "Learning While They Laugh." With the chairman's permission, I would like to provide members of this subcommittee with copies of that booklet and to enter a copy into the record.

We also began to make changes in our prime time schedule. This activity was intensified after the issuance of the Surgeon General's report in 1972.

We reduced the number of incidents of violence. Equally important, we believe, we have vastly changed the portrayal of those incidents.

The CBS Office of Social Research started counting the actual numbers of incidents of violence on various [illegible] programs [illegible] then. We have made one major change in this approach, however. Although most violence counts are based on monitoring 1 or 2 weeks of television currently, CBS now monitors [illegible] weeks over a period of 26 weeks for a set of 13 weeks. The reason for this approach quite simply is that there is no typical week of television.

This monitoring [illegible] demonstrates a decline in the number of incidents of violence in CBS prime time dramatic programming. For the last full season, 1975-76, there was a 30 percent decline in the number of such incidents over the previous season. The preliminary figures for this season show that we have maintained the same low levels.

While our actual numbers may differ from other studies the end result does not. Various organizations and individuals active in the monitoring of television have also reported that the CBS television network is lowest in violence.

As an additional step CBS proposed in 1975 the institution of the Family viewing concept for television. This was to provide an early evening period in which the family could watch television together without embarrassment to either young or old.

We continue to believe that the adoption of the Family viewing proposal represented a significant step in fulfilling our programming responsibilities. I know that some members of this committee agree with the judge's finding that the way Family viewing came about was unconstitutional. CBS and others are now appealing this decision to the U.S. Court of Appeals. We have taken this appeal because we believe that important First Amendment issues are at stake and because of the importance we place on industry self-regulation.

Since this case is now on appeal, I would only say that while we recognize the sincerity of those who disagree, we at CBS believe that Family viewing is in the public interest and we continue to adhere to that concept.

Unfortunately, the efforts of broadcasters in reducing the incidence of violence on television have seemingly gone unnoticed. We may not have made enough reduction to satisfy [illegible] critics; but it is important to remember that the total elimination of violence is a goal that few have suggested since violence has been a part of drama [illegible] from the beginning. The goal of CBS has been the elimination of gratuitous and excessive violence.

In connection with this reduction, it is of interest to recall these words in the summary of the Surgeon General's report. I quote:

> A fundamental issue [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] between [illegible] viewing and other [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible].
>
> If one is not [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] violence [illegible] undesirable.

Unfortunately, some have adopted a simplistic approach to an obviously complicated problem. There is, for example, talk of boycotting sponsors of "violent" programs. We have moved from the scientific to an emotional level.

Some people talk about "too much violence" on television. If we do indeed present "too much violence," then what is an acceptable level? There are no easy answers.

Given the subjective nature of this issue, I would presume that perceptions in definitions of violence would differ even among members of this committee. Some might feel that a pie in the face is an act of violence, some might not. Some might feel that the fantasy violence of the science fiction movie is all right, and some might not. Some might feel that the saloon brawl of the traditional western is all right, and some might not. And some may feel that when Bugs Bunny pours a pitcher of milk over a chipmunk's head it's an act of violence, while some might not.

Indeed, if we were to poll the members of this subcommittee—or the people in this room—as to programs to be banished for excessive violence, I would doubt that we would find unanimity of concern.

As I noted earlier, we have reduced the amount of violence and we have altered the nature of that portrayal. CBS will continue to act in a responsible manner.

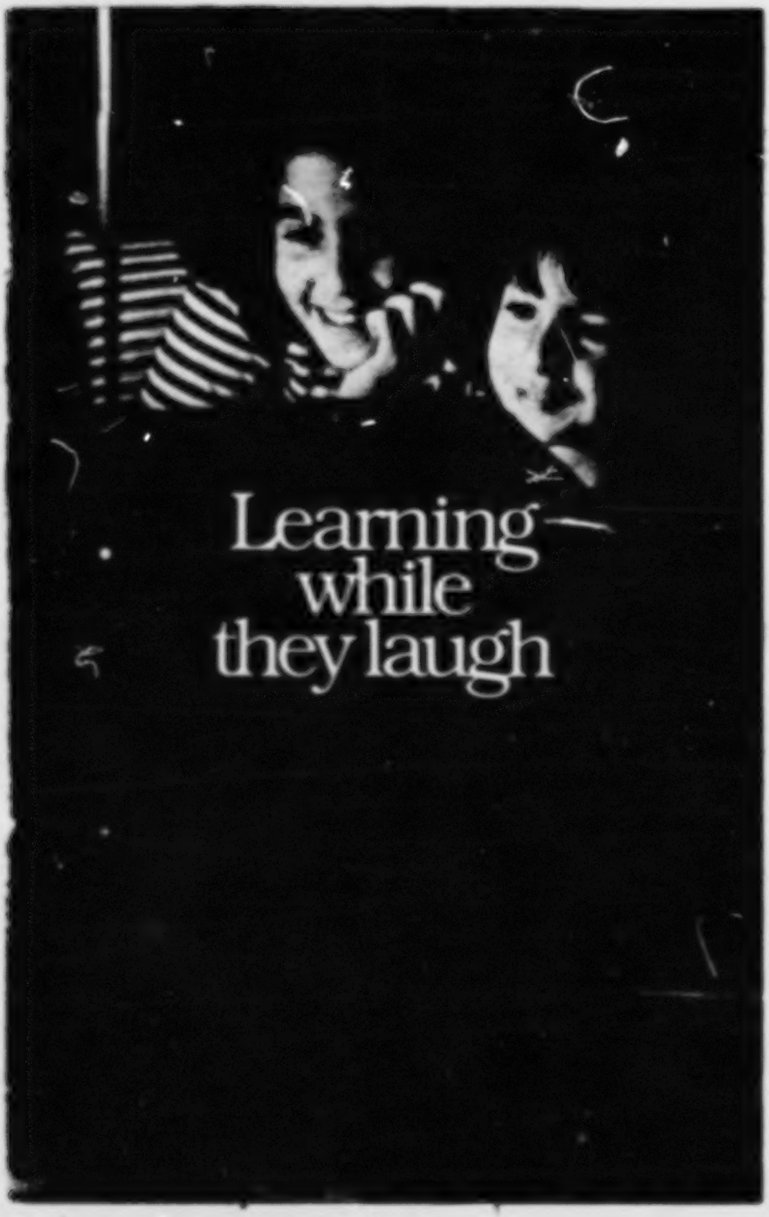
That concludes my statement, sir.

[Testimony resumes on p. 231.]

[The booklet referred to follows:]

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Room 2125, Rayburn House Office Bldg.

MEMORANDUM



Learning
while
they laugh

Studies of Five Children's Programs on the CBS Television Network

Foreword

During the early 1970s, CBS assigned the highest priority to the development of new weekend television programs for children. We sought to include, in children's programs, messages of social value—for the most part, simple, important lessons in living, as well as basic knowledge.

It was clear that content of this kind could benefit from consultation with educators and specialists in child development. In 1972, I said that CBS would call on social scientists in our effort to develop programs combining entertainment with positive social thrust. I made clear that we would rely primarily on entertainment to attract and hold audiences, keeping in mind that television can never command the captive attendance of a classroom, and should not become a sixth day of school.

Over the past few years, consultation with panels of distinguished scholars has become standard procedure at CBS, both as a continuing phase of children's program development, and in preparing each episode of a program series. Educators in diverse fields work closely with creators of children's shows, contributing their professional insight into the minds and thought processes of the young as well as expert knowledge of particular fields.

The collaboration has proved productive beyond all expectations. It broke ground for a succession of programs that are a creative blend of popular entertainment and recognized social value. In significant ways they were revolutionary as innovations in children's television.

The programs also attracted large audiences. But we wished to know how well the young viewers received messages from the broadcasts.

The CBS Office of Social Research undertook a massive research operation, employing techniques rarely if ever before used on such a scale or in the pursuit of such objectives. Since late 1973, that research has embraced studies of five programs with social content and has involved interviews in face-to-face situations with more than 4,000 children.

The findings were most gratifying. As this report shows, the programs proved highly effective in communicating ideas for child guidance. The studies hold promise that television can achieve the goal—never before pursued through so many programs—of re-enforcing awareness of social values acquired in home, church and school.

It was fitting that pioneering programs should be measured by pioneering research. We are confident that studies of children's television, like those detailed here, will lead to further creative uses of entertainment, to the benefit of the young.

JOHN A. SCHNEIDER
PRESIDENT
CBS/BROADCAST GROUP

Did They Get the Message?

This booklet reports the highlights of a ground-breaking research effort in the field o children's television. Its purpose was to find t what degree child viewers can receive and recall messages of social value included in television programs.

The use of entertainment as a vehicle for social an practical teaching is hardly new. It goes back at least t Aesop's Fables. But never before in television have so many entertainment shows for children, including th five explored here, been created after regular consultation with educators and specialists in child development. And not before the present studies of these five programs has research on a massive scale measured entertainment shows as carriers of ideas about fair play, telling the truth, respect for work and many mor

By the late 1960s, children's television had reache an important turning point. It had established beyon question its ability to entertain millions of children and to absorb their attention. But this ability had raised still higher expectations. In its search to create and develop distinctive programs, the CBS Television Network established goals to make more deliberate u of entertainment—in order to convey lessons in living to children, and to provide more informational conte

To help shape programming of this character, th CBS Television Network retained Dr. Gordon Berry, Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Education, University of California in Los Angeles, as advis on children's programs. He calls on changing panels child psychologists, child psychiatrists, educators, sociologists, and also, as particular programs dictat historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, physicists and others. Panel members participate fully from story concept to finished product. They contribute messages concerned with ethics, social responsibility and competing values; supply knowledge from special fields; and advise on children's comprehension of material. They review scripts in advance of program production.

The first result of this activity, in 1972, was an animated series, *Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids*. It grew out of an idea proposed by the comedian Bill Cosby, based on his childhood in Philadelphia. It was also the first subject of the present research. The series deals with the problems of growing up common to all children: facing up to bullies, keeping a promise, telling the truth when it's painful. A Black neighborhood provides a lively stage for the acting out of important precepts. Cosby moves in and out of the episodes to underscore a point and supply a laugh.

Fat Albert is widely celebrated as a milestone innovation in children's television. It has shown that television, in certain instances, can join with educators to produce entertainment with mass appeal and social value. Never before had fun and carefully planned messages been so brilliantly woven together. The show has won popularity with all ethnic and social groups. It became the forerunner of other breakthrough programs on the CBS Television Network.

One of these, *The Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine*, was quite different in format—with the famous basketball stars romping through a live-action series of fast and funny skits. Each program focused on a single theme such as "safety" or "honesty."

The goal of *U.S. of Archie* was more directly instructional than either *Fat Albert* or *The Globetrotters*. In animated form it re-created historical events and personalities, with the popular "Archie" cartoon character and his friends taking part with their ancestors. Each episode focused on a specific event or figure. But, along with history, messages of social import were also included in *U.S. of Archie* as in all programs of this category.

Shazam! with a superhero and *Isis* with a superheroine are parallel adventure programs, both live on film. They teach good deeds more explicitly than their counterpart programs, and at the same time they liven up the adventure with superhuman flight and other powers. *Shazam's* young hero can turn into "Captain Marvel"; the heroine of *Isis* can become a goddess.

These five weekend programs were highly successful in attracting viewers—as many as over ten million for one episode. But we asked—were they getting their messages across? Would children perceive the messages as preaching, or after-school teaching, and tune out? Would the laughs or excitement crowd out the lessons? Would ideas taking up only a small fraction of program time be lost?

A vast research operation was set in motion. The CBS Office of Social Research organized large-scale studies, with the help of professional research firms. Jointly, they devised interview guides that would make possible valid comparisons between the responses of children to different programs and message content.

Interviews for the five programs totaled more than 4,000.

Age groups of interviewed children were 7-8 and 10-11 for all five programs, and, in the case of *Shazam!* and *Isis*, 13 and 14. Samples were drawn from three cities for *Fat Albert* and from six for each of the other programs.

Research into these programs had exciting potential in adding to our knowledge of television. The evidence of group after group in the sample showed the programs to be highly effective in communicating social or informational messages. *Roughly nine out of* *ten interviewed children received at least one message per episode; and on the average they received more than three messages. High reception was indicated by all age, ethnic and social groups.*

The CBS Television Network's goal is to achieve a desirable balance of entertainment programs with social and informational content, of adventure and comedy, of live and animated production. What this balance should be is likely to be found through a continuous process of program development and audience research.

Highlights of the studies for the five programs follow.

Highlights of the Studies

Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids

is an animated comedy series portraying the everyday life of Black children in Philadelphia. Interspersed among the play and give-and-take of the kids are stories about cheating, bragging, stealing, being on time, and the like—all within the youngster's experience. Bill Cosby comes on live to interrupt the story, adding to the comedy and helping to drive a message home.

The research sample (a total of 711) was divided along racial and socioeconomic lines—one-third each among lower Black, lower White, and middle White; one-half each among 7- to 8-year-olds and 9- to 11-year-olds; and one-half each among boys and girls. Half of the interviewed children had seen the program in captive situations, in public auditoriums rather than at home. (This captive procedure was not repeated in the other studies.) The children were interviewed in and around three cities.*

Key findings included these:

Close to nine out of ten children who had seen an episode of Fat Albert received one or more messages of social value. (10.7% failed to receive a message.)

The proportion of children who received a message while viewing at home (87.7%) was little different from that of children in captive situations (90.6%). Older children were more likely than younger children to receive a message (93% vs. 85%). Reception for boys and girls was almost the same. Children who received a message of social value received an average of 2.77 messages per episode.

Messages that the children reported having received included: "Take care of a younger child."

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*[illegible]

"Father's job is important." "Support a friend in trouble." "Be honest." "Be friendly; don't be rude, nasty, jealous, or mean." "Don't write on walls."

Almost one child in six misinterpreted one of the intended messages. Most of the misinterpretations came from one episode to which the children appended a happy ending. The mother and father in the episode are divorced, but some of the child viewers perceived that "they lived happily ever after."

Children received most of the specific messages from the story itself (93%); and the rest from comments by Bill Cosby (10%); and from a song keyed to the message content of the episode (13%).

Three out of ten children (29%) spontaneously mentioned that the cast of Fat Albert is Black: 18% of the Black and 35% of the White children commented on race. With the exception of one or two, the comments were purely descriptive, with no expression of judgments. 71% did not comment on the matter at all.

Planning and field operations in the study of Fat Albert were carried on by the Gene Reilly Group, working with the CBS Office of Social Research.

The Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine

was a variety show with a series of short, fast-moving, funny skits. About half of the skits were intended to convey a message of social value related to a central theme, such as "honesty" or "kindness."

All of the children interviewed (totalling 987 in and around six cities*) had seen the program in the course of their normal Saturday morning activities.

Although the program format of *Harlem Globetrotters* was quite different from that of *Fat Albert*, the research findings were remarkably consistent:

Almost nine out of ten children received at least one message of social value (87%).

Age was strongly related to message reception: 92% of the older children received at least one social message compared with 81% of the younger children.

Differences in social class were also related to differences in message reception (middle class, 91%; lower class, 84%), but sex was not.

The number of messages received by the average child varied from 2.[illegible] for the episode about "loyalty" to 2.31 for the episode about "honesty."

Reception of the central theme of an episode varied widely. 84% recalled the theme of the "safety" episode compared to 80% for the episode on "kindness," 78% for "honesty," and 61% for "loyalty."

Asked to describe the Harlem Globetrotters, 22% of the children volunteered that the Globetrotters were Black. Conversely, 78% never mentioned the fact. White children were more likely to mention the matter (29%) than were Black children (10%).

Neither a particular interest in sports nor the regular viewing of The Globetrotters appeared to be related to reception of messages.

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*[illegible] Chicago, Los Angeles, Columbus, Ohio, New Orleans and [illegible]

Planning and field operations for the study of *Harlem Globetrotters* and the programs that follow were carried out by Child Research Service, Inc., working with the CBS Office of Social Research.

U.S. of Archie

This program was oriented to the Bicentennial. Along with entertainment, its major purpose was to build awareness of historical events and personalities among its child viewers. A secondary purpose was to convey messages of social value.

Each animated episode opened with a contemporary situation that reminded Archie of a historical happening in which his ancestors took part. The episode then shifted into a historical re-creation, with Archie's ancestors and his friends among the cast of characters.

Interviews in and around six cities* were held with 617 children, each of whom was interviewed in regard to one of four episodes of the program. At the end of each interview, the children were given a quiz about the information contained in the episode they had viewed.

These were the principal findings:

Almost nine out of ten interviewed children (88%) received at least one factual message.

On the average, the children received 3.2 factual messages.

These are examples of messages which the children remembered from these four episodes:

From Susan B. Anthony: *Women wanted the right to vote... Women wanted equal pay... Women fought for rights in the face of opposition.*

From The Transcontinental Railroad: *Trains met from east and west, and the two parts of the country were linked by the railroad... The railroad helped towns and cities grow... The people who built the railroad came from all over the world.*

From George Washington Carver: *Carver found many things that could be made from peanuts...*

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*Dallas, Chicago, Los Angeles, Columbus, Ohio, New Orleans and Paramus, N.J.

He improved the lives of farmers . . . Carver was a scientist who did experiments . . . He was Black.

From Lewis and Clark: *Lewis and Clark were explorers who were looking for a route to the Pacific . . . President Jefferson sent them . . . They made friends with the Indians.*

All episodes communicated well. Receipt of at least one message ranged from 84% for Susan B. Anthony *to 97% for* George Washington Carver.

Younger children were less likely to receive factual messages than older children – 78% for 7- to 8-year-olds, 96% for 10- to 11-year-olds.

About two-thirds of the children (63%) were aware that the episodes were about something that really happened. This awareness affected reception of messages substantially: 98% of the "aware" received a message, compared with 66% of the "unaware."

Contrary to the usual pattern in the communication of knowledge, boys and girls, Blacks and Whites, and middle- and lower-class children were likely, to much the same degree, to get some information out of the program. Limited interest in history did not prevent children from receiving factual messages.

Quizzes on the content of each episode were given to children who had viewed the program and to a comparable group of non-viewers. Viewers scored substantially higher than non-viewers.

Black children were almost twice as likely as White children to mention that George Washington Carver was Black (42% vs. 23%). This was the reverse of color mention in response to *Fat Albert* and *The Globetrotters*, where White children, more than Black children, referred to the race of the characters. The difference perhaps reflects the Black children's pride in a heroic Black figure, in contrast to their taking color for granted in the case of the more familiar and humorous Globetrotters.

Of the children interviewed, seven out of ten (72%) reported at least one social (as opposed to factual) mes-

sage—relating to cooperation, respect for others' views, and the like—though these messages were not central to the episodes studied.

Reception of at least one message of social value varied from one episode to another—from 58% for Susan B. Anthony *to 82% for* Lewis and Clark.

Shazam! is a live-action children's program on film. It relates the adventures of a teenage hero, Billy Batson. In an instant, Billy can transform himself into a miracle flying man called Captain Marvel, who is endowed (by six ancient gods and Biblical prophets, "The Elders") with superhuman powers to be able to rescue people in danger. Billy travels around the country in a camper with a much older male companion named Mentor. He consults with Mentor on problems they encounter in their journeys.

The sample of children who were interviewed in the case of *Shazam!* was larger than previous samples—971. Approximately half were boys, and half were girls. Each of the age groups 7-8 and 10-11 accounted for more than a third of the children. Almost a fourth were 13 and 14. Roughly eight out of nine were White, and one out of nine, Black. Interviews were held in and around six cities.*

Shazam! proved even more successful than the previously researched programs in conveying messages:

Virtually all the children interviewed received at least one message (99.5%).

On the average, 4.53 messages were received per child. For 7- to 8-year-olds, 3.96 messages; 10 and 11, 5.04 messages; 13 and 14, 4.95 messages.

Reception of specific messages varied by familiarity of the message and by age group:

For example, more than half of the 7- to 8-year-olds received the message "Obey your parents," compared with about three-fourths of the two older groups.

As might be expected, abstract messages such as "Accept yourself" were much more likely to be received by teenagers than by the younger groups.

*Los Angeles, Columbus, Ohio, New Orleans, Fort Lauderdale, Kansas City and New York.

Only 4% of the youngest group received "Be independent, be your own person," compared with 11% for the 10- to 11-year-olds, and 25% for the 13- to 14-year-olds.

"Don't judge people hastily" varied from 8% for the 7- and 8-year-olds to 33% for the teenagers; "Follow safety rules," on the other hand, ranged from 78% for the youngest group to 57% for the oldest.

More than nine out of ten of each age group mentioned some attribute of Captain Marvel. About three out of four from each group said he was active in helping others. Seven out of ten of the youngest group mentioned his powers of strength and flight, compared with six out of ten of the two older groups.

(The message "It is good to help or rescue people" is implicit in the superhero-to-the-rescue plotting of Shazam! *When this message is removed, the proportion of children who received a social message is slightly reduced [from 99.5% to 96.6%—for the 7's-8's and 10's-11's combined]; and the average number of messages received per child also declines [from 4.5 to 3.5]. A similar reduction applies to the program Isis.)*

Isis is a live-action filmed adventure program. Its heroine, Andrea Thomas, is a high school science teacher. She has the gift of becoming a superheroine named Isis. Andrea and Isis alternately join in the adventures and dilemmas of teenagers. She counsels young people, and comes to their aid in times of trouble.

As in *Shazam!*, the reception of messages was extraordinarily high. The interview samples of *Fat Albert*, *Globetrotters*, and *Archie* had been limited to children aged 7 and 8 and 10 and 11. The studies of *Isis* and *Shazam!* included 13- and 14-year-olds. *Isis* involved the largest sample— 1,040, of whom 236 were young teenagers. Approximately half were boys, and half were girls. Interviews were conducted in the same six cities as in the case of *Shazam!*

Virtually all the children interviewed received at least one message of social value.

On the average, the children received 4 messages, compared to 4.5 for Shazam!

The reception of messages was virtually the same for 10- to 11- and 13- to 14-year-olds—an average of 4.5 and 4.7 respectively. The 7- and 8-year-olds received an average of 3.5 messages per child.

Most of the interviewed children volunteered descriptions of some of the characters they mentioned. Isis impressed the children with her moral qualities—especially her helpfulness (91%), her superhuman abilities (83%), and her physical attributes (38%). Girls were more likely than boys to comment on Isis' concern for others and on her beauty, but boys mentioned her superhuman qualities as often as did girls.

Andrea Thomas proved less memorable to the children than Isis. The attribute most commonly mentioned was her occupation as a high school science teacher (41%).

In general the older and the middle-class respondents spontaneously cited more qualities of the leading characters than did the younger and the lower-class children.

Probably because *Shazam!* and *Isis* are so similar in format and character portrayal (except for the focus on a male superhero in one and on a female in the other), the pattern of response is much the same for both programs. They were the most successful programs among those studied in conveying social messages.

Other Children's Programs on CBS Television

Positive social values are elements of a number of children's programs on the CBS Television Network other than those included in the present studies. Their audiences range from pre-school children to teenagers. Among other values, they convey the importance of goodwill, mutual helpfulness, and the non-aggressive resolution of competing interests.

The most famous of these programs is *Captain Kangaroo,* the only daily commercial network television show for pre-school children. It holds the record as television's longest-running young children's program, having celebrated its 6,000th broadcast. Through stories, skits, verse and song it communicates ideas about growing up, along with what amounts to a child's encyclopaedia of elementary knowledge. With more than 21 years on the air, it has been a happy childhood experience of entertainment and learning for half the U.S. population.

The format of *Valley of the Dinosaurs* also offered the opportunity for including social and informational content. Contemporary children find themselves in a lost land. They exchange ideas with cave-dwelling friends about dealing with the forces of nature. In the *Hudson Brothers/Razzle Dazzle Comedy Show,* the famous multi-talented performers also succeed in working social content into their material.

While stressing entertainment, children's shows on CBS Television have introduced more and more adult material—in juvenile versions—in the areas of news, information and the arts. In this effort, the network's educational advisers on children's programming have made continuing contributions.

During the late 1960s, animated action-adventure programs starring superheroes dominated children's Saturday morning television. In its continuing drive to develop new forms of children's entertainment, the CBS Television Network replaced these with comedy-adventure and, at the same time, scheduled the hour-long *CBS Children's Film Festival*. With its many prize-winning films from around the world, this *Festival* has proved to be one of television's foremost quality programs. The series was placed in the Saturday 1 to 2 PM period in order to benefit from the availability of an older audience that might watch these programs, and to avoid the competition of the more popular animated programs of earlier time segments.

The network al[illegible]d to an informational series. In 1970, through CBS News, it developed short news segments of [illegible]cal news stories. These are now presented in the weekend schedule for children as *In the News*—12 two-and-one-half-minute productions (ten on Saturday and two on Sunday). They are shown after each program. The series enables more than five million children to keep abreast of current news. It also helps them follow and participate in adult conversation, and introduces them to regular news programs. It may well be the largest shared informational learning experience among the nation's children.

Another CBS News informational effort is the *What's It All About?* series of specials, shown six times each season as part of the Saturday schedule. Through 30-minute documentaries, it reports on such subjects as "What's a Convention All About?," the CIA, taxes, the Loch Ness monster, the election, the energy crisis, the Supreme Court, a city, the Senate.

Programming in the introductory cultural area was also expanded. *The New York Philharmonic Young People's Concerts* —on CBS since 1958—was incorporated into *The CBS Festival of Lively Arts for Young People* in 1973. This series has won highest distinction in bringing youngsters their first glimpse of classic stage and musical works, with charm and humor. It has presented such classics as "Gianni Schicchi," the Puccini comic opera, with Zero Mostel; "The Return of the Phoenix," a traditional Chinese opera; Gilbert and Sullivan's "H. M. S. Pinafore" with the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company; "A Child's Christmas in Wales," with Sir Michael Redgrave; "Ailey Celebrates Ellington," with the Alvin Ailey Dance Company; "Danny Kaye's Look-In at the Metropolitan Opera," with Beverly Sills and Robert Merrill; "Harlequin," an Edward Villella ballet commissioned by CBS. The last two productions won Emmy Awards.

For the 1976-77 season, *Festival* programs are being broadcast approximately once a month, September through May, and tie in with the school year. Most run Sunday from 5 to 6 PM. The massive exposure of musical and stage classics to youngsters through the *Festival* may be judged by this calculation: The television audience for just one of these *Festival* broadcasts would fill Philharmonic Hall in New York City with a daily performance for four years.

Balancing these and similar programs in the schedule are such all-entertainment shows as *The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Hour, Far-Out Space Nuts, Scooby Doo, Pebbles and Bamm Bamm*, and *Ghost Busters*.

Much additional entertainment especially for children or having appeal for the entire family is scheduled for any day in the week, and often in prime time.

In this category of shows there is wide diversity. The CBS Television Network has offered the all-family films "The Yearling," "Tom Sawyer," "The Wizard of Oz," and "The Bible." There are the perennial animated favorites "Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer" and "Frosty the Snowman," and many more animated "specials" including: "The Last of the Mohicans," "Pinocchio," Kipling's "White Seal," "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi" and "Mowgli's Brothers." And "Ivanhoe," "Mysterious

Island," and "A Christmas Carol"; new productions of Charlie Brown, and Dr. Seuss.

The CBS schedule has also offered the family dramas "Easter Promise," "House Without a Christmas Tree," "The Thanksgiving Treasure" and many more. And series for all ages such as *The Waltons*.

The programs discussed here are those of the CBS Television Network. In addition, the five CBS Owned television stations carry on a parallel development of children's programming. Each is broadcasting at least eight half hours of primetime specials, along with its own regularly scheduled series, during the 1976-77 season. Many of these specials impart information via an entertainment format.

Many of the regularly scheduled children's series are educational, with several of the series conveying knowledge of ethnic history and the basics of foreign language. Puppets and stories are sometimes used to lead discussions of situations which youngsters may encounter in day-to-day living. Trips to factories or countryside may provide information on the making of shoes or the making of mountains.

Currently under development for broadcast by the five stations in 1977 is *Marlo and The Magic Movie Machine*, a highly informational and entertaining program aimed at elementary school-aged children.

The CBS Television Stations Division and each of its stations, in association with The Corporation for Entertainment and Learning, will be producing this one-hour, weekly program, which will include segments dealing with music appreciation, reading comprehension, vocabulary, language arts, social studies, practical aspects of science and career awareness. Positive social messages will be conveyed by a mime company, and vintage film will be utilized to provide insight into history and culture.

An educational consultant has been retained for *Marlo* and a panel, composed of an educator from each CBS Owned station city, will serve as advisers.

New Children's Programs for the 1976-77 Season

The progeny of *Fat Albert* includes three new programs seen on the CBS Television Network during the 1976-77 season: *Ark II*, *Tarzan: Lord of the Jungle* and *Way Out Games*. Along with other programs of the new season they were developed with, and their scripts are reviewed by, the Network's panel of educational advisers.

Ark II, set in the 25th Century, explores the challenges of rekindling a civilization in a land laid waste by man's over-population and pollution. Its theme provides rich opportunity for the introduction of constructive social ideas. Within its format, the messages go beyond the social content of previous shows to include ideas about peace, civilization, the environment, the use of resources and the like.

Tarzan is an animated version of Edgar Rice Burroughs' classic, with message content comparable to that of *Ark II*.

Way Out Games brings physical exercise games with 51 (including Puerto Rico) state teams of children selected around the country with the help of the American Alliance for Health, Recreation, and Physical Education. Competition proceeds through preliminaries, semi-finals and finals. The program carries messages on physical fitness and good sportsmanship.

With *The Harlem Globetrotters Popcorn Machine* and *U.S. of Archie* leaving the children's schedule for the 1976-77 season, *Ark II*, *Tarzan* and *Way Out Games* provide additional parallel messages of social value.

Fat Albert, *Isis* and *Shazam!* are continuing, as are *The CBS Festival of Lively Arts for Young People*.

The CBS Children's Film Festival, In the News and *What's It All About?*

All entertainment programs that premiered in the new season include *Clue Club*, a mystery-comedy-adventure series; and *Sylvester and Tweety*, an animated comedy.

A Note on Research Procedure

The principal aim of the studies was to measure the success of a children's program in communicating messages of social or informational value.

A second objective was to determine the variations in reception of different messages in relation to such factors of age, sex and socioeconomic status.

An interview guide was used with all children. At no point in a session did the interviewer or the interview guide suggest any message. Typical questions were: "What was the Fat Albert show about today?" "What other parts do you remember?" "Did anyone in the show do anything you think was right or nice to do?" Replies were recorded verbatim.

Interviews were obtained among children within two hours after the show—at playgrounds, shopping centers, in the street. In the case of Fat Albert, half the interviews were held with children who had watched in captive situations (e.g., a church hall). Differences in the receiving of messages between the normal and the "captive" viewers were not considered significant. The experience, however, proved it feasible to locate and interview children who had seen the program in the normal course of their day. Moreover, natural, unalerted viewing more clearly tests reception. Captive audiences were therefore not employed in the subsequent studies.

Interviews were held in three cities for Fat Albert, and in six cities for the remaining shows.

The research plan called for a quota sample, with designated proportions of different age, ethnic and social groupings (as opposed to a probability sample). For this reason, percentage findings of the study cannot be generalized for all viewers, but must be regarded as relating only to the children actually interviewed. Samples ranged from 617 to 1,040 children. These were distributed over four or five episodes. The samples varied in composition from one program to another.

It should be stressed that no claim is made that the messages contained in these programs will change behavior. The studies were found to provide awareness of messages as of five hours after the programs. But the research did not pursue the more elusive goal of obtaining evidence that the programs affect the active choice between right and wrong, or have lasting effect. But television does not operate in a vacuum. Whether the programs do or do not affect subsequent behavior is probably dependent on other influences to which the individual children are subject in the real world: such influences as the words and deeds of parents, peers, teachers and others whom the children know and respect.

Interested representatives of children's groups, parent-teacher associations, public officials, educators and child specialists are invited to write for technical reports of the studies to:

CBS Office of Social Research
51 West 52 Street
New York, New York 10019

CBS Broadcast Group

Mr. WIRTH. Thank you very much, Mr. Schneider. If you could stay with us for the following panel questions—Mr. Robert Howard of NBC.

Please proceed, Mr. Howard.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT T. HOWARD, PRESIDENT, NBC TELEVISION NETWORK, ACCOMPANIED BY HERMINIO TRAVIESAS, VICE PRESIDENT, DEPARTMENT OF BROADCAST STANDARDS, NBC

Mr. HOWARD. My name is Robert T. Howard, and I am president of the NBC Television Network. With me today is Mr. Herminio Traviesas, the NBC vice president who heads our broadcast standards department. That department is responsible for, among other things, evaluating all programs proposed to be broadcast by the NBC television network to make sure that they conform to NBC's Code of Broadcast Standards. At the conclusion of my statement, Mr. Traviesas will speak in more detail about the operations of his department.

At NBC, we have determined that we can take active steps to reduce the amount of violence in our prime time programs. I made that announcement in January and repeated it before a meeting of the NBC affiliates at the annual convention of the National Association of Television Program Executives in Miami. I would like to present that statement to you now.

> NBC, viewing television as a whole, believes the proliferation of program types whose plot lines heavily involve violence, has become excessive. It is taking positive and practical steps to reduce the number of those programs on the NBC Television Network.
>
> Any network schedule is the end product of many months of planning, program development and selection from an available pool of program series that have been developed by outside producers. Nearly half the pilots from which NBC's 1977–78 schedule will be selected are series in comedy and variety fields. In addition, we have in development a large number of long-term dramatic program series away from the hard action form.
>
> This emphasis on nonviolent programs in development and a reduction in hard action police shows is a matter of conscious television network and corporate management policy. It will give NBC the opportunity to reduce violence in its program schedule and further to diversify its programming. NBC intends to realise that opportunity.

As this committee can understand, the task of putting together a program schedule that is responsible and of interest to our viewers is definitely not an easy one. Among other factors we must deal creatively and realistically with the world around us and at the same time guard against material that might be offensive to a significant portion of the diverse, nationwide audience that we serve.

The manner in which dramatic conflict is presented is of the utmost importance. NBC strives to eliminate violence that is inserted merely for shock value, or offered as an acceptable means of resolving social problems. It must be necessary to the plot or make a valid contribution to the theme or characterization. In short, violence may not be excessive or gratuitous.

We have often rejected storylines and plots that we feel rely too heavily on violence. Mr. Traviesas will discuss in more detail the procedures we use to accomplish this objective.

We must recognize that conflict, including violence, is and always has been an integral part of drama—on the stage, on films, and on television. I do not believe anyone seriously argues that all conflict, excitement, and confrontation should be eliminated from television drama. These elements must be judged on the basis of their manner of presentation, their meaning and their purpose.

A violence index that simply lumps together comedy, acts of nature and accidents with acts of physical harm does not discriminate at all between different types of conflict and their meaning and intent. Such a laundry list of incidents is not helpful to programers who seek to eliminate violence that is excessive or unnecessary to theme or plot.

That is why we rely on the judgments of the experienced professionals in our broadcast standards department to review proposed program content.

NBC also has a social research department which maintains contacts with the social science community. For our Saturday morning programs, for example, NBC has established a panel of distinguished social scientists to consider issues pertaining to these children's programs. The social scientists on the panel work closely with both our program and broadcast standards departments and attempt to apply social science information and analysis to programing questions.

In fact, last month, one of our Saturday children's programs, "Muggsy," was the only regularly scheduled network Saturday morning program to win the "Achievement in Children's Television Award" of ACT—and of course, that is action for children's television, and we are very proud of that award.

As you can see, NBC has no intention of shirking its responsibility in the programing area. We expect to reduce the number of hard-action shows from our prime-time schedule and we will continue to evaluate all programs under our code of broadcast standards—a code that is calculated to assure that programs we present meet generally accepted standards for a home medium.

The subject of television violence is an extremely complex one to which there are no simple answers and consideration of the issue is often clouded by emotion, misunderstanding, and misinformation. Some of our critics attempt to make television the scapegoat for persistent and historical social problems which television did not create.

Most experts would agree, however, that violence in our society is the result of complex and frustrating social and economic conditions, including poverty, urban decay, drugs and the breakdown of the family, unemployment and racial discrimination, among other things. Nevertheless, we believe it is prudent to be concerned about violence on television and we intend our programing to reflect that concern.

Television—in common with all media—must be free to deal realistically and creatively with the human condition and to meet the public demand for dramatic programs with taste and propriety. Excessive external pressure should not be allowed to infringe unduly on those engaged in this creative process.

The job of formulating a responsible and imaginative program schedule is also a creative process involving numerous subjective judgments. Now, some of these judgments will not please all of the people all of the time, but we are conscious of the problem and have taken and will continue to take active steps to be responsible.

Finally, I would like to discuss briefly what we are doing with respect to the so-called family viewing hour since I know that this committee is interested in dealing with that subject.

Now, I am not an expert on the legalities of the matter and therefore I am not in a position to discuss the merits of the litigation relating to it, litigation which is now under appeal. I can tell you, however, that long before the National Association of Broadcasters formally adopted its family viewing program standard, NBC as a matter of network policy opened its prime time entertainment schedule with programs suitable for viewing by a general family audience.

Later, while the family viewing hour policy was under discussion, NBC announced that it would expand its policy so that the first hour of prime time entertainment programing would be appropriate for general family viewing, whether or not a formal NAB code amendment was adopted.

As you may know, the NAB television code was amended later in 1975 to provide for a formal family viewing period. The NAB code amendment provided that "entertainment programs inappropriate for viewing by a general family audience should not be broadcast during the first hour of network entertainment programing in prime time and in the immediately preceding hour."

The code provision also called for the use of audience advisories if the occasional program was considered inappropriate for a family audience.

In November of 1976, in litigation initiated by the Writer's Guild of America and other parties, Federal District Court Judge Ferguson ruled that the family viewing hour policy could not be enforced by the NAB but that the networks are "free to continue or discontinue the policy or any variant provided that such programing decisions are made independent of concern for government reaction."

The NBC television network intends to continue the family viewing policy as a matter of its own individual responsibility. We did not, in the past, make observance of such a policy contingent on a formal NAB standard and we do not now intend to abandon the policy.

Of all the measures NBC has taken regarding violence on television, none is more important than the day-to-day review of program materials by the Department of Broadcast Standards.

Just before Mr. Traviesas picks up on that, I would like to say that for some time, NBC has had a policy of sending down the line programs that we felt that our affiliates would like to see ahead of time so that they could make some decisions.

At the beginning of this year we increased that so that on the average week now we send to our affiliates anywhere between 10 and 15 hours of programing that is coming up. There is a difficulty

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with this because of the late delivery, in most cases, of product from the production companies, but we have been able to do it so that at least a week or a few days in advance of program time, our affiliates have the advantage of seeing what we are going to be giving them later in that week, and sometimes it is actually longer.

Mr. Traviesas?

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Traviesas, I wonder if you might summarize your statement for us in somewhat the manner in which Mr. Howard completed his statement, and then we can get to the question period.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. Well, then, since you have my statement, I will ad lib.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. We will, of course, accept it for the record——

Mr. TRAVIESAS. Thank you.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. But I was just thinking that you could highlight it for us.

STATEMENT OF HERMINIO TRAVIESAS

Mr. TRAVIESAS. I would just like you to know that at NBC, as vice president in charge of the broadcast standards department, we have a staff represented in both Burbank and in New York of approximately 43 people and about half of those are in the active editorial process of reviewing programs.

We review every entertainment program at the inception to make certain that they comply with the standards set up by NBC and our own code standards.

We also—and my department does not report to Mr. Howard, who is president of the network. I report directly through a corporate vice president to the corporate management, so that at NBC we have two different reporting procedures. The program department, who are also an important part of our programing review, go directly to Mr. Howard and my own function goes directly to corporate management.

We think that this is a good checks and balance procedure.

We view every program, as I said, right through the rough cut stage and we tell the producers ahead of time what must be eliminated in terms of gratuitous violence, in terms of language, in terms of many, many other problems including how minority groups are reflected.

We have—unfortunately, a word which is applied to us is that we are the final censor. I frankly have always said that I disliked the word because it was so negative. I like to think that we are creative editors who try to help the creative community in presenting a good program. We reflect not only our own code, but that of the NAB.

There are about 2,000 scripts that we review every year and this includes everything from the children's programs on Saturday morning to the daytime schedules to prime time to the feature films. We have rejected many programs because we felt that they would not be presented properly. Since Mr. Howard came out with his statement early in January, we have already, at the broadcast level, rejected six specific program suggestions because we felt that they did not comply with NBC's new directive to reduce violence on television wherever possible. In other words, the story itself could not be corrected and therefore, we eliminated it.

I am not saying that this is absolute in terms of other shows because, as we have said before, that action is a part of the total entertainment schedule.

Our main purpose in broadcast standards is to eliminate what we call gratuitous violence as well as other problems such as sex, and so on.

The other important thing, and then I will close, is to let you know that I go to the west coast—and this is true of the other two networks too—once we have our schedule set for the year, once we know—and it is usually around April or May—what the next year's schedule is going to be, I spend at least a week with the producers of that new schedule, and we sit around a table and we present, with other executives of NBC what we see are the problems facing us.

We review very carefully what our code provisions are. We suggest to them not to precensor themselves in terms of subject material, but at the same time that we have to have the final responsibility.

We have an excellent dialog. The unfortunate part of these meetings is that we do not talk to the writers themselves because we do not even know who the writers are going to be on a specific series at that time. There might be as many as a hundred different writers, also, in a year.

But we do talk to the principals, the producers who are responsible for carrying out our message.

I think our new policy in terms of direction to be tougher on depictions of violence will strengthen my department—as I have said before, we have already turned down six programs—and I think that when we go out in April or May again, meetings such as this one here today and the input of the PTA meetings that we have had will all help us in what we are trying to do.

Thank you.

[Mr. Traviesas' prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT OF HERMINIO TRAVIESAS, VICE PRESIDENT, DEPARTMENT OF BROADCAST STANDARDS, NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.

My name is Herminio Traviesas and I am the Vice-President in charge of NBC's Department of Broadcast Standards. I have held that position for approximately seven years. For nearly two years prior to that, I was NBC's Director of Broadcast Standards, West Coast. My overall experience in radio and television encompasses approximately forty years and includes service as a Vice-President of one of the nation's largest advertising agencies, in charge of its Program Department.

At the outset, it should be understood that the NBC Broadcast Standards Department reviews every script of every entertainment program broadcast on the NBC Television Network. As part of this responsibility, we work closely with the Program Department to assist in the development of the NBC program schedule. As with the other networks, the vast majority of entertainment programs broadcast on NBC are supplied by independent producers.

At NBC, the Program Department reports to Mr. Robert Howard, President of the NBC Television Network. The Department of Broadcast Standards, however, reports its decisions independently to corporate management. Thus, within NBC, two separate departments, in separate reporting lines, are actively involved in maintaining program standards.

All entertainment programs, whether on film or tape, are reviewed by Broadcast Standards editors, and, when appropriate, by their supervisors, to make certain the programs comply with established company policies. These policies are reviewed regularly and revised when appropriate. Network policies relating to program standards are contained in the NBC Code of Broadcast Standards.

At NBC, the Broadcast Standards Department is located in New York and in Burbank, California, and consists of 43 people—approximately one-half of whom are involved in the program area. During a typical season, the editors in the Department's program unit make judgments on more than 2,000 outlines and scripts.

The procedure for the Department's review of these materials assures an ongoing evaluation of entertainment programs throughout the entire production process—right up to the final product.

Each program editor is assigned to one or more shows. It is his or her responsibility, even before a script is written, to review the story outline and to advise the producer whether it is acceptable. If an outline is approved, the editor later reviews the script and its various revisions, and may require specific deletions or changes in the story, or in the manner of presentation.

The review procedure continues through the "rough-cut" stage of the film or tape, right up to the completed program, when it is finally ready for broadcast. All along the line, the editor keeps in constant communication with the producer in a steady stream of meetings, memos and phone calls. Whenever problems exist, the NBC editor and the production people work together to seek solutions that will resolve the Broadcast Standards problem and still preserve the dramatic value of the program. Of course, the editor confers frequently with his superiors, and particularly difficult problems may be referred to senior executives for decision.

Throughout the process, the Broadcast Standards editor coordinates his evaluations and observations with his counterpart in the Program Department, who also is in communication with the producer on creative and production matters.

While Broadcast Standards editors deal with a variety of potential program problems, violence is among the most sensitive of the issues they must consider.

As Mr. Howard has pointed out, conflict, including violence, is historically an integral part of drama, and no one, to my knowledge, would advocate the elimination from television of all themes or scenes that could be called violent. When they are necessary to a story, we insist that such materials be presented in a way that does not glorify violence or endorse it as an acceptable means of resolving interpersonal conflict. We insist that violent incidents not be presented merely for shock effect.

What we strive to eliminate is gratuitous violence—violence inserted for its own sake and not arising from the central elements of character or storyline. On this point, The NBC Code of Broadcast Standards is quite explicit:

"NBC recognizes its responsibility to the public with respect to the depiction of violence—the intentional infliction of physical harm by one person upon another. In all cases, such depictions must be necessary to the development of theme, plot or characterization. They may not be used to stimulate the audience or to invite imitation. Violence may not be shown or offered as an acceptable solution to human problems."

In applying this provision of the Code, and our own judgments as program editors, we have found that some scripts or outlines depend on violence to such an extent that no amount of correction can make them acceptable under NBC Standards. When this happens, we disapprove the program. In fact, since January 1, 1977, we have already rejected outright six programs submitted to NBC because of excessive violence. This is consistent with Mr. Howard's statement in January announcing the network's intention to reduce violence in its 1977-78 program schedule.

On some occasions, a program script seems acceptable, but the screening of the rough-cut film or tape reveals that certain sequences are treated in an objectionable manner, which we could not have anticipated from the script itself. Where possible, we attempt to establish very clear understandings, at the script stage, of just how the material will be played. And even then, we are careful to judge the program as it is actually treated on film or tape, and to request changes at that stage if they are necessary to meet our standards.

In the area of feature films produced originally for theatrical release, the Department of Broadcast Standards reviews the film to determine whether it is suitable for network television.

When a film is acceptable in general theme and treatment, but contains violent sequences that can be removed without impairing the overall work, we cooperate with the program supplier in an effort to make the film acceptable.

To make certain that all outside producers who supply programs for our schedule understand our concern and attitude in applying NBC program standards, I and other NBC executives meet in Los Angeles before production for a new season begins with as many of the outside production staffs as possible. During those meetings, we discuss in detail our Code of Broadcast Standards, thus permitting the producers to have a clear understanding in advance of production of what we expect from them. In general, we have found the program suppliers cooperative, and they recognize that it is not our intention to hinder the creative dramatization of genuine human conflict.

The task of the Broadcast Standards Department is a sensitive one, and in an era of rapid social change, the job becomes more difficult. We are, of course, fallible and sometimes make mistakes. But we conscientiously strive to help develop a program schedule that is responsible and at the same time responsive to the tastes and expectations of our home television audience.

Thank you.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Thank you, Mr. Traviesas.

Our third pair of witnesses, who will then be questioned jointly with the other two panels, are Mr. Fred Pierce, president of ABC Television and Alfred Schneider, vice president of program practices.

STATEMENT OF FREDERICK S. PIERCE, PRESIDENT, ABC TELEVISION, ACCOMPANIED BY ALFRED R. SCHNEIDER, VICE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST STANDARDS AND PRACTICES, ABC

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, my name is Frederick S. Pierce and I am president of ABC Television. My responsibilities include the television network and the divisions which provide its news, sports, and entertainment programs.

Accompanying me today is Alfred R. Schneider, the ABC vice president responsible for broadcast standards and practices.

We have submitted detailed written statements for the record which summarize our entire activities for the 52 weeks of the current broadcast season. I appreciate this opportunity to present this summary of our views.

First, ours is a mass medium of communications. We try both to present material for a national audience and to recognize the interests of more specialized audiences as well.

Second, our programing is constantly changing and evolving. It does so, in part, because we try to be responsive to the needs and desires of our viewing audience, and in part because we try to be innovative.

Now it is appropriate to ask here how does the public think we are doing?

Well, in January of this year, the last month for which we have definitive figures—and I might add, it was the coldest month of the year, as well—television viewing reached its highest levels ever in this, or any, country, an average of 7 hours and 16 minutes per home per day.

Now, to us, this says that the public for the most part continues to be enthusiastic about the overall diversity and quality of the programs we offer. Now of course this level of public acceptance does not mean that we cannot improve.

Much as we try to avoid them, in the course of programing over 4,000 hours a year, we do make mistakes, and when we do there is no hiding them. They are right out on the air for everyone to see.

The public and our affiliated stations are very quick to let us know that we have misstepped.

Third, underlying the diversity, responsiveness, and innovation which characterize our service is the most fundamental concept, and that is responsibility.

Now, ours is a society of laws based upon moral principles and ethical standards. Because we communicate so much to so many, we must be sensitive to these principles and standards and attempt to meet them with principles and standards of our own.

Now one reason for the strong concern with program contents standards is the fact that television is widely viewed by children. Now at ABC we have pioneered the overall improvement of those programs which are directed specifically to children.

The ABC workshop on children's television in the early seventies brought together parents, creative talents, educators, psychologists, and broadcasters to share ideas about what television should be for young viewers. Out of this workshop came the roots of a particular philosophy for children's programing. Our schedule must first of all be entertaining; otherwise, no children will watch it. But our schedule must include substance as well, and whether that substance is information or material to support the development of pro social values.

To transfer these goals into actual programs we sought the assistance of psychologists, sociologists, child psychologists, and educators, among others. The ABC after school specials which began 5 years ago are a direct outgrowth of this workshop and were originated and designed to fill a vacuum in quality children's programing in the late afternoon. I might add that we put on 14 of these hours every season.

"School House Rock" is a children's series of entertaining, informative, 3-minute animated films comprised of three distinct elements. "Multiplication Rock" teaches multiplication up to 12; "Grammar Rock" teaches proper use of the parts of speech; and "America Rock" illustrates such topics as how a bill goes through Congress.

We present 350 of these telecasts every year, 7 times a week on the weekends in between our entertainment programs on Saturday and Sunday morning.

"Animals, Animals, Animals," which is ABC News' unique and exciting children's series on Sunday hosted by Hal Linden focuses on a particular animal seen through the eyes of man in such subjects as art history, mythology, literature, humor, music, and religion—and I might add, also received the Action for Children's Television citation just 2 weeks ago in Boston.

Now while our role is to continue to strive to improve the quality and diversity of children's television, there is an equally important responsibility to be met by the parent. If television is to be the constructive influence with children that it can be, parents must assume their full share of the responsibility.

They must know what their children watch, they must make judgments about the suitability of specific programs for their children.

and they must watch television with their children. They must use shared viewing as a basis for discussion with their children.

I might add, we have enclosed a book for each of you gentlemen, and lady, published by Eda LeShan on the subject of how parents can watch television together, and I strongly suggest that if you have the time, you might browse through it. It has very interesting suggestive approaches that you could transmit to your constituents.

During the course of the entire 1976-77 broadcast year, the ABC Television network will present almost 4,300 hours of programming for the American public. Now, about 20 percent of this programming will be news, public affairs, or informational material, another 10 percent will be sports events, and 70 percent will be devoted to the full range of entertainment programming.

Now, I shall focus in this summary on some of the things which are happening in the 8 to 11 p.m. prime time segment of ABC. The 1,300 hours of prime time programming scheduled for the 1976-77 broadcast year can be divided into eight very broad categories: news and public information consists of 12.9 percent; sports, 9.3 percent; variety series and entertainment specials, 7.6 percent; situation comedies, 14.2 percent; dramatic series and specials, 10.9 percent; detective-action series, 15.6 percent; fantasy-adventure series, 14.4 percent; and movies make up the balance of 10.2. This does not add to 100 percent because we have approximately 5 percent of our programming still unscheduled for this current broadcast season.

Moreover, our programming is evolving, and some of the directions we are taking are especially pertinent to the subject of these hearings. For example, during the first quarter of 1977, the one we are in right now, we are introducing 12 new series on a limited or regular basis, only one of which will fall into the traditional detective-action category.

The other programming are comedy, variety, and various types of dramatic series. Now, perhaps no single television program more represents the diversity, responsiveness, innovation, and responsibility to which I have referred than "Roots," a 12-hour presentation over 8 nights between January 23 and 30, 1977.

The program was watched by more viewers, a total estimated at 130 million series, than any television program ever before. Many colleges throughout the country have offered courses based on the book and the television series.

Scholastic Magazine estimated 12 million schoolchildren were assigned the program as part of classroom work.

Now, because it can take as long as 2 years for a program to grow from an idea to an actual program on the air, the projects in development today will shape the future of television. ABC Entertainment has approximately 65 projects, in addition to the 12 we are introducing this quarter, available as candidates for the 1977 fall prime time schedule, representing a wide diversity of forms and concepts, but with increasing emphasis on comedy and variety programs.

We have, for example, 15 comedy projects now in development and a number of important novels for television on the boards for next season.

ABC's dramatic program development represents a continuing effort to present new and different forms throughout the evening.

Such popular dramatic series as "Rich Man, Poor Man" and "The Family" are established examples of this new approach.

In addition, we are emphasizing the development of melodrama, fantasy, and contemporary drama, and deemphasizing the detective-action form which often contains incidents of violence.

Notwithstanding this deemphasis, however, such programs have a legitimate place in a diverse program schedule. The best made programs of this type have very large audiences, and the mail we receive commenting on these programs is both heavy and overwhelmingly positive.

Now, throughout history the essence of most drama has been conflict and in such works, violence has always been one means to resolve conflict. In the present day, although 130 million people saw "Roots," few complained to ABC about the portrayals of violence therein, and certainly it would have been impossible to depict the conditions of slavery honestly without such portrayals.

Now, if violent incidents are called for in some of our programs, we insist that the presentation be responsible. At ABC, the responsibility has two forms—first, in terms of the content of the programs; and secondly, in terms of scheduling of the programs.

Now with respect to content, we require that where programs contain conflict as a natural and dramatic consequence of plot development, it can be responsibly portrayed and its consequences depicted. Gratuitous violence serves no useful purpose. Every effort is made to assure that portrayals of violence for its own sake or unnecessary depictions of excessive force are excluded.

Not only have we decreased on a year-to-year basis the amount of programs dealing with violence, we have decreased the incidents of violence portrayed within these programs. Incidents cannot, unfortunately, be measured solely on a mechanical count basis. Qualitative aspects of program content must also be taken into consideration in evaluating the portrayal of violence within context.

We are developing such a system with the aid of our research department and outside consultation, and because of our concern about violent incidents, and specifically adult-oriented subject matter in the early evening television programs, in January 1975, ABC adopted what is known as the family viewing policy with which you are familiar. And, as you know, a similar policy adopted by the National Association of Broadcasters in 1975 was declared unconstitutional by the Federal District Court in California in November of 1976 because of alleged FCC involvement.

ABC does not agree with substantial aspects of that decision and we are appealing it. We do feel that the family viewing policy should be an integral part of the broadcasting industry self-regulatory philosophy and is far preferable to Government infringement upon sensitive first amendment rights, and regardless of the status of our appeal, we remain committed to both the broad principle of responsibility to our audience and to the specific policies that were embodied in the family viewing principle.

Last December, therefore, we formally reaffirmed our adherence to ABC's own principle of family viewing. This reaffirmation was endorsed by the ABC Television Affiliates Association. We want our audience to have complete confidence that during the early part of the evening they can turn to our network and our stations, and see programming that will be suitable for the general family audience.

I would like to add that we programmed the family hour with the following programs from the fantasy, variety, and comedy forms. In fantasy we have "Six Million Dollar Man" and "Bionic Woman." In variety we have "Captain and Tennille" and "Donny and Marie". In comedy we have "Happy Days," "Laverne and Shirley," "Welcome Back, Kotter," and "What's Happening," and we recently added two [illegible] comedies to make the 7 day program schedule.

It makes me kind of question the earlier statements made about the amount of violence that does exist in the family viewing hour based on the definition that we arrived at somewhat mechanically; although the intent of these surveys are well-meaning, I think that they can be somewhat misleading.

Finally, we have made a special effort to understand the effects of television violence on young viewers. We commissioned three distinguished social scientists—Dr. Melvin Heller, Samuel Polsky, and Seymour Feshbach—to conduct two 3-year studies on this subject at a cost of $1 million.

These studies are among the most important examinations of the subject to date and were completed in 1976 and the results made available to the broadcasting, regulatory, and academic communities. The studies have assisted us in the continuing development and refinement of broadcast standards and practices guidelines, and our research into this area continues in order to ascertain further the social and psychological impact of television programming content upon viewers, particularly children.

Recently we have made five new research grants, specially chosen from among 127 applicants from major colleges and universities. The serious issues which we are considering here are ones to which we have also given concern, study, and action. Our concern is manifest in the continuing development of a diversified program schedule which seeks on the one hand to evolve new forms, varied program fare, and a broader choice for the viewer, while on the other hand to intensify our efforts toward meaningful and responsible presentation of controversial subject matter, including violence where essential to portray human conflict and plot development.

The facts are that programs which may include incidents of violence represent a diminishing percentage of ABC's overall prime-time schedule. An overwhelming proportion of the prime-time programming falls into the comedy-variety-sports-dramatic, either general or contemporary-adventure-fantasy, or news and public affairs, categories.

Now, I have recently suggested that various interested parties within and without the television industry join a comprehensive scientific analysis of the relationship of programming to viewer behavior that will enable us to continue to define and pursue objective guidelines for both broadcasters and parents in both the preparation and viewing of television entertainment. In the long run, this would seem to me to be the most productive and responsible approach to the problem.

Thank you for affording me the opportunity to present ABC's views.

[Testimony resumes on p. 266.]

[Mr. Pierce's and Mr. Schneider's prepared statements follow:]

[illegible]

STATEMENT OF

[illegible]

PRESIDENT

[illegible] TELEVISION

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

[illegible]

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

My name is Frederick S. Pierce. I am President of ABC Television. My responsibilities include the Television Network and all the divisions which provide the network's programs in sports and entertainment as well as news.

I appreciate very much the invitation to appear before you today. Even in an industry characterized by constant change, the degree of change that has occurred in television programming during recent years has been exceptional. I welcome, therefore, the opportunity to review with you the overall philosophy with which we approach our program responsibilities, the progress we have made in implementing that philosophy in the recent past and the plans we have for the near future.

I

Television has assumed a central position in American life. At the latest count, 97.4 percent of all U.S. homes had at least one television set. There are 71.2 million homes equipped with television; our programs are available to more than 200 million people on a daily basis. On Sunday, January 30, more than 36 million homes -- over half the television homes -- watched the concluding episode of ABC's presentation of "Roots". We are, truly, a national medium of communications. It is a responsibility we do not take lightly.

These 200 million people are by no means homogeneous. They are old and young, rich and poor, urban and rural, male and female, of all races, with a variety of needs and interests of unimaginable scope.

Our programming philosophy proceeds from the fact that we are a mass medium. We present material primarily for a national audience, while providing programming for specialized audiences as well. We realize it is not possible to satisfy all of the people all of the time. We can, however, satisfy most of the people, most of the time, through a commitment to diversity within our program service. We offer as varied a menu of television fare as creative talent can provide -- news, public affairs, information, discussion, sports, comedy, variety, action, history, drama, adventure, mystery, biography, fantasy. Whether it is "Roots" or John Denver, the Olympics or the Fonz, "Six Million Dollar Man" or "The Family", we try to have something in our schedule to appeal to everyone.

The amount of material we offer the public is prodigious. The ABC Television Network, in the evening prime time hours alone, presents the time equivalent each year of 572 theatrical motion pictures or 458 Broadway plays. This calculation counts neither the fact that prime time is less than a third of our network's total program output, nor that there are two other commercial networks, a public television network, and an immense volume of local programming on the 900 individual television stations throughout the country, all contributing further to the diversity of the medium.

Change, I said a moment ago, is a constant in television programming. It stems from two different but related principles, both of which are fundamental to our programming philosophy. The first is that we must be responsive to our audience; the second is that we try to be innovative. Throughout the history of our medium, leadership -- in every sense of that word -- has belonged to those who most diligently applied those two principles.

In this process, we study and analyze the letters that pour in each day, and the content of these letters plays a role in our decision making. We also strive to benefit from the views of those with special expertise to offer. The public votes, through daily audience measurements, on the quality of our work every hour of every day. In a matter of days, we know very precisely which of our efforts the public has approved, and which it has rejected. And we respond very strongly to this role of the audience.

These concepts, responsiveness and innovation, must be considered together. The family viewing policy, to cite a major example, was clearly a response to a problem felt strongly by a large segment of our audience, by our affiliated stations, and by ourselves.

It is appropriate to ask here, how does the public think we are doing? In January of this year, the last month for which we have definitive figures, television viewing reached its highest level ever in this -- or any -- country; seven hours, 16 minutes per home. This compares to six hours, 59 minutes in January 1976, and to six hours, 56 minutes in January 1975. To us, this says that the public continues to be enthusiastic about the overall diversity and quality of the programs we offer.

It does not mean, of course, that we cannot improve. Much as we try to avoid them in the course of programming over 4,000 hours a year, we do make mistakes.

When we do, there is no hiding them; they are right out on the air, for everyone to see. The public and our affiliated stations are quick to let us know when we have misstepped.

Diversity -- responsiveness -- innovation. These are the cornerstones of our programming philosophy. But underlying all of these elements is a fourth concept, and that is the responsibility that comes with the position we occupy. Ours is a society of laws, but also one of moral principles and ethical standards. Because we communicate so much to so many, we must be constantly sensitive to these principles and standards, and we must meet them with the strictest principles and standards of our own. This is one reason why Americans are generally acknowledged to have the best television service in the world.

II

Change, in television as in so many other areas, requires time -- time for planning, time for preparation, time for analysis for feedback into the next stage of planning. Understanding the process is essential and is best illustrated for purposes of this hearing by what has happened over recent years to the programming ABC prepares specifically for children.

It was evident several years ago that our programming for children required improvement. There had been too little innovation for too long and the programs we had were no longer as responsive as they should have been to the needs of their audience. Change was clearly needed. To begin the process, we held the ABC Workshop on Children's Television. This workshop brought together parents, creative talents, educators, psychologists and broadcasters to share ideas about what television should be for young viewers.

Out of this workshop came the roots of a particular philosophy for children's programming: Our schedule must be, first of all, entertaining; otherwise, no children will watch it. But our schedule must include substance, as well, whether that substance is information, or material to support the development of pro-social values. We want children to know they must be able to recognize and distinguish between right and wrong. We want them to discover new worlds, of science and history and language and so many other things. We want them to have pride in themselves, in their families and in their country.

To translate these goals into actual programs, we sought the assistance of psychologists, sociologists, child psychiatrists, and educators, among others. Working with them, we weeded out programs, primarily cartoons, that seemed to us not to be suitable -- those that depended too much on gratuitous violence or action, and those that conveyed outdated ethnic or sexual stereotypes. To replace them, we sought out new creative talents dealing both in the world of animation and in live characters. To help in the implementation of our guidelines, we engaged the Bank Street College of Education as consultants to analyze scripts for their potential effects on young viewers. The best way to sum up their approach is a list drawn up by Bank Street's Dr. William Hooks of qualities that we should strive for in our programs. It is keyed to the word "respect", and it includes:

respect for the individual;
respect for differences;
respect for religious beliefs and ethnic qualities;
respect for all animal life and for the environment;
respect for private and public property;
respect for moral values;
respect for the feelings and sensitivities of others; and, not least,
respect for oneself.

The "ABC Afterschool Specials", which began five seasons ago, were originated and designed to fill a vacuum in quality children's programming in the late afternoon. These specials deal with subjects unique to children growing up in our highly complex world. All episodes have one common denominator -- each displays the utmost respect for the needs, intelligence and sensitivity of today's children. They offer solutions to difficult problems for youngsters, especially those in junior high, often an overlooked audience. Such shows as "Rookie of the Year", the story of a girl who wanted the right to play Little League baseball, "Blind Sunday", which helped young viewers understand the handicap of blindness, and "Francesca Baby", about a young girl whose mother is an alcoholic, were followed by "My Mom's Having a Baby", which aired February 16, 1977. This special not only received high critical acclaim, but was the highest rated "Afterschool Special" and the highest rated dramatic daytime special in the history of television. Our next "Afterschool Special", March 9, is "The Horrible Honchos", which deals with peer pressure. The following month will be "Very Good Friends", based on the book "Beat the Turtle Drum", by the well-known children's author, Constance

Green. This special examines the phenomena of sibling death and the way a family copes with an unexpected tragedy.

"Schoolhouse Rock" is a children's series of entertaining, informative three-minute animated films comprised of three distinct elements: "Multiplication Rock", developed in consultation with Bank Street College of Education, teaches multiplication tables up to 12; "Grammar Rock", developed in consultation with Dr. Henry P. Beechold of Trenton State College, teaches proper use of the parts of speech; and "America Rock", a series on history and government developed in consultation with Professor John A. Garraty of Columbia University, illustrates such topics as how a bill goes through Congress. "Schoolhouse Rock" is shown at hourly intervals on a rotating basis throughout the children's weekend schedule. "Schoolhouse Rock's" music and visual presentations teach their subjects in a way youngsters can easily absorb; this teaching method has seen widely accepted by educators. During this season, "Schoolhouse Rock" will number 20 different films, having more than 350 total telecasts throughout the year.

When questions were raised regarding a lack of nutritional information, ABC Television responded with the "ABC Nutritional Messages". This series of animated public service messages is designed to acquaint children with good nutrition and proper eating habits. ABC has made these 30 and 60-second messages available to its affiliated stations for broadcast during their locally produced and syndicated children's programs. The ABC Nutritional Messages, prepared in consultation with Dr. Roslyn B. Alfin-Slater, the division head of Environmental and Nutritional Sciences, School of Public Health, University of California, are aired during ABC's entire weekend schedule.

"Animals, Animals, Animals", ABC News' unique and exciting new children's series on Sunday hosted by Hal Linden, focuses on a particular animal seen through the eyes of man in such subjects as art, history, mythology, literature, humor, music and religion, as presented in animation, graphics and live action. This fast-paced series, recently commended by Action for Children's Television (ACT), is designed to excite, inform, amuse, interest, and expand the young viewer's frame of reference. Our regular Saturday morning series programming ranges from the popular animated features of "Scooby Doo" to the live characterizations on the Sid and Marty Krofft "Supershow" to the popular music offerings on "American Bandstand."

Diversity for children is an important theme at ABC. Introduced this season on the Saturday morning schedule were the "ABC Short Story Specials", a unique new series of half-hour anthologies which will have eight telecasts during the 1976-77 season. Subjects which are covered are "Valentine's Second Chance" by O. Henry, a highly entertaining story of the reformation of the legendary Jimmy Valentine which results from his fondness for a ten-year-old. Others are "Homer and the Doughnut Machine" by Robert McCloskey; "The Haunted Trailer" by Robert Arthur; and "Encyclopedia Brown", a story based on the characters and style of Donald J. Sobol's widely read poetry.

While our role is to continue to strive to improve the quality and diversity of children's television, there is an equally important task still to be addressed by the parent. If television is to be the constructive influence with children that it can be, parents must assume their share of the responsibility -- they must know what their children watch, they must make judgements about the suitability of specific programs for their children, they must watch television with their children, and they must use the shared viewing as a basis for discussion with their children.

We are making major efforts to carry this message to the nation's parents. Two of the more prominent examples are a booklet we asked Eda LeShan, a prominent specialist in child psychology, to write, entitled "Watching Television With Your Children" (a copy comprises Attachment 5 to this statement), and, very recently, 30 and 60-second public service television announcements entitled "Treat TV With TLC (Tender Loving Care)". We developed these messages with PTA and gave them to that organization. They contain an animated message which musically suggests ways in which parents watching television with their children can be beneficial. They are now available to all networks and stations, and we hope they will be widely used. Their message is important.

III

During the course of this broadcast year, which runs fifty-two weeks from mid-September 1976 to mid-September 1977, the ABC Television Network will present almost 6,300 hours of programming to the American public. About 20 percent of this programming will be news, public affairs or informational material. Another 10 percent will be sports events. And 75 percent will be devoted to the full range of entertainment programming.

Most people do the bulk of their television viewing during the evening hours, between 8 and 11 p.m. Eastern time. As a result, evening prime time receives the greatest volume of attention from press and public alike. But prime time accounts for only 1,000 hours of programming a year, or about 20 percent of our total network program offering, and it is important to note that programs scheduled at other times of the day are essential to the broadly diverse program service that we seek to provide the public.

Recently ABC expanded its program service to the early morning and now presents "Good Morning America", a two-hour program each weekday. This series combines regular news reports and entertainment features; a sizable volume of consumer, health, science and other informational material; and a variety of public affairs segments ranging from "Face-Off", in which an issue of current importance is debated by pro and con spokespeople, to "Newsmakers", an interview with a major figure in the news. The program also has the flexibility to cover major stories by devoting large segments of time to a particular subject or by going to the locale where the news is being made.

In addition, it presents, among other programs, "Issues and Answers", a half-hour interview program with one or more major news figures, and "Directions", an in-depth examination of issues and subjects in the area of religion and faith.

In sports, an [illegible] [illegible], ABC not only presents such major and traditional sporting events as college football, professional bowling, automobile racing, tennis and golf, but has pioneered in the development of spectator interest in less widely known sports and related diversions featured in "ABC's Wide World of Sports", "American Sportsman", and "Superstars".

ABC Sports also presents, in evening prime time, major league football and baseball. And no discussion of the sports area would be complete without mentioning the quadrennial Olympic Games, possibly the single greatest sports spectacle on television. ABC presented the 1976 Winter Games from Innsbruck, Austria, and the 1976 Summer Games from Montreal, Canada, both to record sports audiences, and will present the 1980 Winter Olympic Games from Lake Placid, New York.

In the entertainment area, ABC presents, in addition to the children's programs mentioned earlier, a full schedule of serial dramatic programs and [illegible] participation game shows during the weekday daytime hours. And, during the late-night hours, ABC presents a diversified schedule of dramatic programs, variety programs, information-and-discussion programs, and repeat broadcasts of current and past prime time entertainment programs.

IV

Because more people watch television during the evening than at any other time of the day, it is during this prime time period that we present what we consider to be programs of the widest public appeal and seek the highest production value. During the entire broadcast year, virtually every point in the programming spectrum will be represented in prime time; but for purposes of analysis, our current programs can be broken down into eight general categories. A more complete analysis of the prime time programs presented on ABC Television during the entire 1976-77 broadcast year will be found in Attachment B to this statement.

NEWS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION: 160 HOURS (11.9 PERCENT)

This category is represented in prime time principally by the "ABC Evening News". In October, when Barbara Walters joined Harry Reasoner as co-anchor, it became the first network evening newscast to have a permanent woman anchor person. Commencing on March 14, ABC News will begin a nightly "Newsbrief" in the heart of prime time.

In addition, prime time programs are pre-empted once a month for ABC News "Closeup", a series of documentaries on significant topics that range from women's health issues to nuclear power. This coming Friday, a "Closeup" will examine the generation of Cubans who have come of age since the advent of Fidel Castro's Communist regime. And Barbara Walters hosts special interview programs, most recently including President and Mrs. Carter and then President and Mrs. Ford.

Last year, our news presentations included the series "Battle for the White House" concerning the Presidential campaigns, and the four debates between the candidates. In the year to come, we will pre-empt entertainment programming as needed to cover events of comparable importance, ranging from Presidential addresses to breaking new events as they occur.

SPORTS: 121 HOURS (9.3 PERCENT)

This category is composed principally of our Monday night professional football and major league baseball coverage, including the divisional championships and the All Star Game. In addition, we covered in prime time several college football games, including the Liberty and Gator Bowls, the NFL Pro Bowl, the Indianapolis 500 auto race, and boxing.

ENTERTAINMENT VARIETY SERIES/ENTERTAINMENT SPECIALS: 101.5 HOURS (7.8 PERCENT)

Four broad areas are represented in this category -- musical variety includes the "Donny & Marie" and "Captain & Tennille" series and specials featuring performers like John Denver, Olivia Newton-John and Dorothy Hamill. Comedy variety includes Paul Lynde and Alan King. Children's variety programs included series hosted by Bill Cosby and the Brady Bunch, and the traditional children's stories of Winnie the Pooh, Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer and Frosty the Snowman. In addition, we carry the Academy Awards, the Tony Awards, and the American Music Awards.

SITUATION COMEDY: 184.5 HOURS (14.2 PERCENT)

This growing category encompasses a broad range of regular comedy series. "Happy Days" and "Laverne and Shirley" are the two most popular regular series on televison today. "Welcome Back, Kotter", "Barney Miller", "The Tony Randall Show", "What's Happening", "Three's Company", "Blansky's Beauties" and "Fish" are other examples.

DRAMATIC SERIES AND SPECIALS: 139 HOURS (10.8 PERCENT)

Four general subject areas are covered -- contemporary dramas ranging from "Family" to "Rich Man, Poor Man"

(Books I and II) to "Westside Medical". Biographical drama includes "Roots" and "Eleanor and Franklin". Historical drama is exemplified by "How the West Was Won". Children's drama includes the "Hardy Boys" and "Nancy Drew" mysteries, adaptations of books which have appealed to young readers for decades.

DETECTIVE/ACTION SERIES: 177 HOURS (13.6 PERCENT)

This category consists of series devoted to various aspects of law enforcement such as "Baretta", "Starsky and Hutch" and "Streets of San Francisco".

FANTASY/ADVENTURE SERIES: 187.5 HOURS (14.4 PERCENT)

These series are non-realistic and totally escapist in content. Programs like "The Six Million Dollar Man" and "The Bionic Woman" draw heavily on fantasy and/or science fiction, while a series like "Charlie's Angels" draws its appeal from elaborate plots, humor and distinctive characterizations.

MOVIES: 133.5 HOURS (10.3 PERCENT)

This group includes both theatrical motion pictures adapted for television use, and movies originally produced for television. Each category contains a broad diversity of entertainment. In theatrical movies, typical offerings are "Forty Carats" and "What's Up, Doc" (comedy), "Bang the Drum Slowly" and "The Way We Were" (contemporary), "Patton" (biographical), "Sounder" and "The Ten Commandments" (historical), "Electra Glide in Blue" (detective/action), "From Russia With Love" and "Survive" (adventure) and "The Stepford Wives" (occult). In the made-for-television area, representative offerings include "Green Eyes" and "Boy in a Plastic Bubble" (contemporary), "Houdini" (biographical), "Young Pioneers" and "21 Hours at Munich" (historical), "Death Scream" (detective/action) and "Fantasy Island" (fantasy).

The percentages above do not add up to 100 percent, because there are several hours still unscheduled at this writing.

V

Since the beginning of 1976, the ABC Television Network has been the industry leader in audiences for its prime time evening program schedule. In large measure, ABC's rise to this stature resulted from a corporate commitment to the most intensive program development effort in the industry. The commitment grew out of our realization that prime time entertainment programming needed more diversity and new forms. ABC, therefore, increased its programming efforts to develop new creative and performing talents and, particularly, to foster fresh and original program forms.

One important stimulus to the elevation of television entertainment in recent years has been ABC's introduction of the Novel for Television. Television is the only visual medium which can present the full sweep and texture of a massive novel, without the constraints that limit theatrical plays and movies. This form effectively opens the world of fine literature to the television screen.

The success of multi-part serialization of "QB VII" encouraged an even more ambitious project, "Rich Man, Poor Man", during the 1975-76 television season. Audience reception of this unique program was so great that the characters were brought back in a continuing series, "Rich Man, Poor Man -- Book II" in the current television season.

Another ABC Novel for Television, Joseph Lash's "Eleanor and Franklin", caused a sensation of its own. Acclaim for this four-hour program was so great that it received 11 Emmy Awards, more than any other single program in the history of the medium. A sequel, "Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years", will appear on ABC on March 13th and we fully anticipate excellent reception for this presentation.

"Eleanor and Franklin" was memorable for another reason. Its high artistic standards and historical accuracy made it a natural instrument for teaching. In cooperation with the Philadelphia public school system, the Philadelphia Inquirer and IBM, the program's sponsor, ABC provided a written text of the program to 400,000 pupils in grades 7-12 throughout the Delaware Valley. They followed the program at home with the printed text before them, then examined events in the Roosevelts' lives from specially prepared curricula distributed in the schools.

So successful was this experiment that school children and their families in the Delaware Valley completely immersed themselves in a history lesson. Viewership of "Eleanor and Franklin" in the Philadelphia area exceeded the national average by about 15 percent, and bookstores were completely sold out of the 913-page Lash book for weeks. Some 5,000 letters of praise from parents, teachers and students poured into the Philadelphia school system about the project. We intend to pursue similar projects in the future.

The "docu-drama" is yet another form which ABC has introduced. This is a dramatized version of an historical event with the participants portrayed as real-life figures. Such programs as "Pueblo", "Missiles of October" and "Collision Course", which dramatized the Truman-MacArthur confrontation, are examples of this new dramatic form.

Convinced that television drama could succeed in prime time with new contemporary forms, ABC introduced "Family". This program originated as a limited series (another ABC innovation) about an average American family with ordinary family problems and relationships. What made it different was its serious approach to family communication. Like "Rich Man, Poor Man", public acceptance of this new idea was sufficient to make "Family" a successful regular series this season. And its success has encouraged a different approach to family drama, "Eight is Enough", which will premiere shortly.

ABC has developed a number of diversified roles for women in its programming. Such programs as "The Bionic Woman", "Charlie's Angels", "Rich Man, Poor Man", "Laverne and Shirley", "Family" and "Nancy Drew" present women in a wide range of situations. Minority groups have also been given positive portrayals on ABC. The most definitive example was the recent production of "Roots", which has given a whole new dimension to black history and will be discussed in greater detail later.

VI

Continuing evidence of ABC's commitment to diversity in prime time programming is the broad range of original programming that is being introduced throughout the first quarter of 1977. A total of 12 new television series will be presented on a limited or regular basis, substantially more new series than were introduced on ABC this past fall at the start of the 1976-77 broadcast year.

These new programs will substantially increase the amount of original programming that viewers will see through the spring. Instead of successful series programs going into repeat telecasts, these 12 new shows will be presented. As a result, the viewer will be able to see more and more diverse original programming throughout the television year and viewer response will guide us in future planning.

The implications of this action are simply that there are, with the exception of the start of the broadcast year, no more "seasons" as such. Programs are being introduced at different times, in various time periods. In effect, this has resulted in a "living schedule" whereby programs are introduced throughout the year. Equally important, the diversity of these new programs is as great as their number. The 12 new prime time series are as follows:

"Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys Mysteries" are based on classic stories that have thrilled young readers for years. Let me call attention to another innovation: These two series are followed by a new feature called "ABC Minute Magazine", a weekly Sunday presentation of current events designed especially for young people and produced by ABC News.

"The Brady Bunch Hour" is a musical-comedy-variety hour which features the Brady family that starred in its own situation comedy series a few years ago.

"Fish" stars the dour detective of the popular "Barney Miller" series in a new situation comedy in which he and his wife take up a new way of life as the adoptive parents of five disadvantaged children. "Blansky's Beauties" is a situation comedy about the den mother of a group of Las Vegas showgirls. "Three's Company" is an adult comedy series about two young women, in need of a roommate to share their apartment, who decide to share it, platonically, with a man.

"How the West Was Won", a six-hour mini-series telecast over three evenings, was a classic historical saga, of the old west. "Eight Is Enough" is a series based on the autobiographical book by Washington journalist, Tom Braden, about a contemporary couple raising eight children who range in age from 7 to 21. "Westside Medical" is a dramatic program about three dedicated young doctors and their experiences on the staff of a metropolitan hospital.

"Dog and Cat" is a limited series, dealing with a unique male and female detective team.

"Future Cop" is a science fiction drama about a "cop of the future", a biosynthetic android.

"Feather and Father" is a "caper" drama which stems from the relationship of a woman attorney and her father, who happens to be a reformed con artist.

It should be noted in this aforementioned list of 12 regular or limited series that ABC will present throughout the first quarter of 1977, only one falls into the traditional detective/action category.

The diversity and change which ABC is, and has been, pursuing is further evidenced by this week's special programs -- on Monday night, "The Battle of the Network Stars", a two-hour entertainment-sports event; on Wednesday, three consecutive musical variety specials, starring Dorothy Hamill, John Denver and Barry Manilow; and on Friday, "The Brady Bunch" musical-variety show followed by an ABC News "Closeup" on Cuba.

Perhaps no single television program more represents innovation, diversity, responsibility or change than "Roots", a 12-hour presentation over eight nights, January 23-30, 1977. The program was based on Alex Haley's best-selling book, which dramatized his search through six generations of his ancestors to his roots in an African village in The Gambia. Reaction to this telecast has been unprecedented. More viewers watched this program -- a total estimated at 130 million Americans -- than any television program ever before. Many colleges throughout the country have offered courses based on the book and the television series. "Scholastic Magazine" estimated 13 million school children were assigned the program as part of classroom work. Some colleges and universities have scheduled forums and research projects to assess the impact of "Roots".

Editorial reaction by newspapers and magazines has been extraordinary. Mayors of 30 cities issued proclamations for "Roots" Week, the week of the telecast.

Another important reaction has been from the viewers, with the ratio of favorable mail to unfavorable mail received by NBC running nine to one.

Our search for innovation is also taking NBC to new sources. For example, NBC recently provided a grant to the National Playwrights Conference of the Eugene O'Neill Memorial Theatre Center in Waterford, Connecticut, to expand opportunities for playwrights. In addition, a separate award will be made to encourage the amount of original dramatic material for television. The award-winning play from the Center's New Drama for Television Project will be presented on NBC next season as part of our "NBC Theatre" series.

It can take as long as two years for a program to grow from an idea to a script to a pilot to an actual program on the air. Thus the projects in development today will shape the future of television. NBC Entertainment has approximately 40 projects, in addition to the 11 we have introduced this quarter, available as candidates for the 1977 fall season representing a wide diversity of forms and concepts.

Some of them will become regular series; some will become limited mini-series; others may appear as [illegible] specials, movies, or novels for television; others may require further development.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Of all our dramatic forms, the unique Novel for Television requires the longest lead time and yield the greatest quality. Our pioneering efforts in this field, which began with "QB VII", were followed by "Rich Man, Poor Man" and "Roots", one of the most important television events of all time. Planned for next year is "Washington, D. C.", a 12-hour dramatization based in part on John Ehrlichman's book, "The Company". In addition, a hero of this great nation -- Dwight D. Eisenhower -- will be the subject of a dramatic project being developed for the future that will portray the late President's military and political career, and personal life.

VII

In a statement submitted separately for the record (and for convenience of reference comprising Attachment C to this statement), Alfred R. Schneider, the ABC Vice President responsible for broadcast standards and practices, sets forth the policies and procedures that ABC utilizes to ensure that its entertainment programs are suitable for the audiences for whom they are intended. The specific policies and procedures are detailed in Mr. Schneider's statement. Permit me to summarize. Under the auspices of the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices, each entertainment program, series, and made-for-television movie is reviewed by an editor, from the treatment or outline stage through the script stage to final production and editing. Matters which relate to program acceptability are carefully discussed and appropriate revisions are required prior to final approval. No program is broadcast without this approval.

Films made originally for theatrical distribution are reviewed prior to acquisition, to determine whether they are or can be made acceptable for broadcast. If a film which we acquire carries an "R" rating, it is edited under the supervision of our Broadcast Standards and Practices Department and then resubmitted to the Motion Picture Association of America for re-rating. Only if the MPAA feels that our edits would have made the picture presentable theatrically with a rating of "PG" or "G", will we then permit its broadcast. I would like to note we are the only network to follow this re-rating procedure.

In certain circumstances an audio and video advisory notice is presented prior to the broadcast of a program to give parents the opportunity to exercise their own discretion in regard to younger viewers in their home. The objective of these advisories is to alert parents that the subject matter of certain programs may not be suitable for the general family audience. In this manner, we responded to the sensitivities of certain segments of our audience. The use of an advisory is the sole responsibility of the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices. Care is exercised, however, to ensure that advisories are not employed in a way that could become an invitation for viewing, or that could diminish their effectiveness. It is noteworthy that a recent study at the University of Georgia found that the advisory was most influential among those respondents with children living at home.

Special policies applicable to televised violence have been periodically revised and refined. Influencing these decisions are independent social research, our day to day experience and consultations with independent consultants. In 1968, we formalized existing policies governing the manner in which violence may be portrayed on television. Since 1972, we have precluded the use of acts of personal violence in teasers, prologues or promotional announcements.

We have made a special effort to understand the effects of televised violence on young viewers. We commissioned three distinguished social scientists, Doctors Melvin Heller, Samuel Polsky and Seymour Lieberman, to conduct two five-year studies of this subject, at a cost of $1 million.

These studies, among the most important examinations of the subject to date, were completed in 1976, and the results made available to the broadcasting, regulatory and academic communities. The studies have assisted us in the continuing development and refinement of broadcast standards and practices guidelines.

Remarks by Dr. Melvin Heller before the National Parents and Teachers Association Hearing on the subject of violence on television, held in Los Angeles February 22, 1977, are submitted as Attachment D.

Our research into this area continues, in order to ascertain further the social and psychological impact of television programming content upon viewers, particularly children. Five new research grants, chosen from among 327 applicants from major colleges and universities, are 1) Dr. Phillip J. Mohr, Coordinator of Graduate Studies in Communications, Wichita State University, "Influence of Parental Guidance on Children's TV Viewing", 2) Dr. Vaida D. Thompson, Associate Professor, Dr. Andrea J. Sedlak, Assistant Professor, and Susan Hudson, Andre DeCarufel, Jay Jaffe, Charles Teddlie, Graduate Students, Department of Psychology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, "Cognitive - Developmental Studies of Television Viewing", 3) Dr. Aimee Dorr Leifer, Associate Professor, and Judith L. Lemon, Doctoral Student, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, "To Investigate How People Experience Television and What Meanings They Attribute To It, and How Differences in Experience and Meaning Relate to Viewer

Characteristics and Attitude Change After Exposure to Aggressive Television", 4) Dr. Joseph R. Dominick, Associate Professor, Dr. Alan Wurtzel, Assistant Professor, Grady School of Journalism and Mass Communication, and Dr. Shanna Richman, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Georgia, "Television Viewing and Techniques of Coping with Problems Among Young Children: Self-Assertion vs. Aggression", 5) Suzanne Fox, Doctoral Candidate and Research Associate, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, "Television's Contribution to Child Viewer's Expectations About Adult Life".

ABC programs in the traditional detective/action category and incidents of violence within those programs are diminishing. This does not mean, however, that these programs and programs like them will disappear altogether from the air.

Throughout history, the essence of some drama has been conflict, and in such works violence has always been one means to resolve conflict. "Hamlet", considered by many the finest play in the English language, contains a poisoning, a stabbing, a suicide, two executions and a fatal duel. In the present day, though 130 million people saw "Roots", few complained to ABC about the portrayals of violence therein; and certainly, it would have been impossible to depict the conditions of slavery honestly without such portrayals.

There is no question, also, that violence is as much a part of life today as in previous eras and warrants appropriate representation in a diverse schedule. A dramatic presentation that attempted a realistic portrayal of contemporary urban life without addressing itself to human conflict would lack credibility among most viewers. We frequently are asked by school systems for scripts of detective/action programs, not only for use in reading programs as with "Eleanor and Franklin", but also for use in value clarification training. Teachers running such programs have told us that these stories present moral and ethical conflicts that their students can identify with, and, it should be noted, in these television programs violent or anti-social behavior always has clear negative consequences.

It is worth noting that the best made detective/action series and movies have a very large and legitimate audience. Equally important, the mail we receive commenting on these programs is both heavy and overwhelmingly positive -- 75 percent in the last broadcast year.

VIII

Programs depicting violence must be presented responsibly. At ABC, this responsibil[illegible] forms -- first, in terms of the content of the programs, and second, in terms of where they are scheduled for broadcast.

With respect to content, we require that where programs contain conflict as a natural and dramatic consequence of plot development, it be responsibly portrayed and its consequences depicted. Gratuitous violence serves no useful purpose. Moreover, we are cautious in avoiding the portrayal of specific, detailed techniques that would involve the use of weapons, the commission of crimes, or avoidance of detection. In short, every effort is made to insure that portrayals of violence for its own sake or unnecessary depictions of excessive force are excluded from our programs. It should be noted that programs which contain portrayals of violence comprise only a part of our total broadcast day and only a portion of our prime time offerings. Moreover, not only have we decreased on a year-to-year basis the amount of programs dealing with "violence", we have decreased the incidents of violence portrayed within those programs, and, of course, the manner in which these incidents are portrayed is subject to continuing qualitative review procedures. Incidents cannot, unfortunately, be measured solely on a mechanical count basis. Qualitative aspects of program content must also be taken into consideration in evaluating the portrayal of violence within context. We are developing such a system with the aid of our Research Department and outside consultant.

With respect to scheduling, it should be recognized that the composition of the television audience changes as the day proceeds; programming must take this fact into account in determining the most appropriate time at which to present a given program.

This principle has been inherent in many of our programming decisions over the years. Because of the concern about violent incidents and specifically adult-oriented subject matter in early-evening television programs, one application of the principle was formalized in January, 1975, with the institution of what is known as the "family viewing policy".

Our policy can be characterized as an exercise of editorial judgment about the acceptability of material at various times within a television schedule.

In general, the "family viewing policy" provides that the first hour of each night of our prime time network entertainment schedule, from 8:00 PM to 9:00 PM Eastern time, is to be devoted to programming suitable for general family audiences. In addition, the policy prescribes that in those cases where, in our judgment, programming in this period may, on occasion, contain material which might be regarded as unsuitable for younger members of the family, the viewing audience will be appropriately advised both by televising audio and video announcements at the start of the program and in the print advertising and on-air promotional material related to such programming.

The National Association of Broadcasters adopted a similar policy for Code subscribers in April of 1975, which expanded the policy to include the hour immediately preceding the first hour of network programming prime time. The NAB policy was declared unconstitutional by the Federal District Court in California in November 1976, because of alleged FCC involvement. ABC does not agree with substantial aspects of that decision; we are appealing it. We feel that the "family viewing policy" should be an integral part of the broadcasting industry's self-regulatory philosophy, and is far preferable to government infringement upon sensitive First Amendment rights.

Regardless of the status of our appeal, we remain committed to both the broad principle of responsibility to our audience and to the specific policies that were embodied in the family viewing principle. Last December, therefore, we formally reaffirmed our adherence to ABC's own principles of family viewing. This reaffirmation was endorsed by the ABC Television Affiliates Association. We will continue to apply these principles not only to the ABC Television Network, but to any programs presented by the five ABC-Owned Television Stations, either in the hour immediately before the family viewing period, or in place of network programming during that period. We want our audience to have complete confidence that during the early part of the evening they can turn to our network and our stations and see programming that will be suitable for the general family viewing audience.

The serious issues we are discussing here are issues to which we have long given concern, study and action.

This concern is manifest in the current presentation and continued development of a diversified program schedule which seeks, on the one hand, to evolve new forms, varied program fare and a broader choice for the viewer, while, on the other hand, to direct and intensify our efforts to the responsible presentation of violence where essential to portray human conflict and plot development.

The facts are that programs which may include incidents of violence represent a diminishing percentage of ABC's overall prime time schedule. An overwhelming proportion of our prime time programming falls in the comedy, variety, sports, dramatic (general or contemporary), adventure, fantasy or news and public affairs categories.

I have recently suggested that various interested parties within and without the television industry join in a meaningful scientific analysis of the relationship of programming to viewer behavior that will enable us to continue to refine and pursue objective guidelines for both broadcasters and parents in the preparation and viewing of television entertainment. This would seem to me to be the most productive and responsible approach to the problem.

Thank you for affording me the opportunity to present [illegible]'s views.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Watching Television With Your Children

by Eda J. LeShan

Since I tend by nature to identify with childhood and to believe that most adults are part of a conspiracy against us kids, my prejudices against children's television programming have run rampant. Relying in recent years on the reports of younger parents, I have gotten the distinct impression that children's television had become one of our more serious social diseases! Full of sick violence, terrible tedium or frenetic over-stimulation, surely there was a monster in the garden of childhood. I was delighted to join any brigade prepared to make war on children's television.

But I did two very dangerous things, if one wants to nourish and preserve a prejudice. I began watching children's television programs and I asked a great many parents if they ever actually watched any of these programs with their children.

It pains me to face this awful truth, but what I feel bound by conscience to report, after about six months of this personal research, is that the monster in the garden is not a three-headed Public Enemy called "ABC-CBS-NBC" bent on destroying our children, but a serious lack of parental involvement in controlling what their children may watch and for how long.

Wherever there is a great deal of anything, some of it is bound to be banal and boring. There are some children's programs that upset me, but ironically, these tended frequently to be those supported by public funds under the supervision and guidance of a roster of psychologists and educators who ought to impress me but don't. Among the three major commercial networks, I have found very little that I felt was in blatant bad taste, far less violence than I had been led to expect (none as strong stuff as what I saw at the movies when I was a child!) and a clear indication that all three networks are producing a number of programs that show concern and commitment to the idea of excellence in children's programming.

Make no mistake. I think television *can* cause problems for children. Two year-olds watching jazzy, mind-blowing images for several hours a day can suffer from what one psychiatrist calls "Sensory Overkill" in which their poor little unfinished brains are so over-stimulated that we begin to see mindless running around and emotional instability. A six year-old allowed to watch television for two or three hours every day is going to become a passive watcher instead of an active doer. He is not going to have enough time for play with other children or for creatively developing his own inner resources. Any child watching a program for which he is not ready, may experience feelings of inadequacy and confusion. The tendency in some programs to over-emphasize the teaching of facts to the exclusion of feelings and to give answers rather than raise questions for children to explore, bothers me. But every single one of these reservations has far more to do with the need for responsible parents than with network producers. What we need for continued improvement in the quality of children's television is a genuine partnership of both groups.

Where are the parents?

Despite vociferous verbal misgivings, parents do not, on the whole, seem to be much involved in what their children watch or how long they sit in front of the television screen. We know that most children are allowed to watch about 25 hours a week. Hundreds of thousands of them—many preschoolers included—are watching programs clearly designed for adult consumption. By the time a child is five years old he has spent as many hours in front of the television set as one needs to get a college degree!

It is hard to know just why this has happened—why parents seem to allow a kind of anarchy where television is concerned that they do not allow in any other area. We don't allow a five year-old to go to see "Last Tango In Paris." We don't allow our children to live exclusively on popcorn and soda. We carefully choose our child's pediatrician, neighborhood and school. If it's snowing, the boots go on, no matter how loud the protests. We consider it a parental prerogative to do our best to keep our kids from getting run over in traffic or burning themselves on a hot stove. Where are we when the television set goes on? My guess is that it has something to do with the fact that the television set is right there in the house, that the programs are free after we've made all the payments on the set, and as a baby sitter, it seems quite irresistible.

Wanted: parents who are in charge

Since my own daughter was a member of the "Howdy Doody" generation, I borrowed a five year-old some weeks ago with whom to watch Saturday morning television—the most vilified part of children's television. I found nothing truly offensive—in fact, we had a good time. But we had a great deal to talk about. When Bugs Bunny was flattening various characters, Lori seemed relieved when I reminded her that it was only funny because it was make-believe. She seemed reassured when I told her that a "Multiplication Rock" segment was meant for much older children. We talked about getting scared of spooky things like ghosts, even when you know it's make-believe, and how it's a good idea to turn the television off or to a different station if the scary feelings become unpleasant. We talked about things like shyness and getting angry and what to do about pollution and wanting things we don't really need—all topics which seem to me to be pretty important for parents and children to communicate about.

Eventually, we got bored with watching. After about an hour and a half we were far more interested in each other than in the programs and decided to have some milk and cookies and pick some flowers for Lori to take home to her mother.

If something was too grown up for Lori, I was there to say so. If I had noticed her getting frightened or over-excited, I was there to turn it off. And when we'd had enough sitting, I could say it's playtime. These are some of the advantages of parental participation. This is not to suggest for one minute that I think parents must be in constant attendance; I am a firm believer in Parents' Liberation and no child was ever traumatized by watching television while his or her parents got an extra hour's sleep on a Saturday morning. I used television as a baby sitter like any other healthy, red-blooded American who knows a good thing when she sees it. But my husband and I also learned the importance of setting limits.

When our daughter was about ten years old, my husband forbid her to watch a particular adult television series. Ordinarily a flexible person, uncomfortable with the idea of censorship, he found this particular program profoundly offensive in its violence. At best it might only lead to nightmares; at worst, it might encourage our daughter to become indifferent to human suffering. She argued and cajoled and when that had no effect, she screamed, raved and ranted; her *whole class* watched the program — she would become a social pariah! But her father did not weaken.

One weekend she went to visit a friend. She called home and asked to speak to her father. She wanted special permission to watch the program on this one night because the friend she was visiting was allowed to watch it. My husband said yes, and as he walked away from the phone he looked very bewildered. "How would I have *known* whether or not she watched it?" he asked me.

That story was a steady beacon during the years in which our daughter was growing up; a clear indication of how hungry children are for standards, for protection—for the loving concern that shows you care enough to insist on the very best.

In deciding on what the best programs may be for young children, it seems to me we have to keep some of these criteria in mind. Pace is terribly important. Young children learn best in a quiet atmosphere, where no one is rushing or shouting. Attitudes ought to come first, before facts. Children learn best by *doing*. The most constructive programs are those which invite direct experience and action—playing with clay, painting, smelling a flower, touching the grass, looking at the miracle of a leaf turning red, climbing a jungle gym, sharing a toy, playing a game, or going to a library or a museum. Play is the most profound and necessary ingredient for growing and learning in the early years, and we need to become increasingly aware that television can enhance a child's play but must never become a substitute for play.

Programs which encourage a child to feel lovable—all the time—are important. Young children are wrestling with their feelings of imperfection and need reinforcement about the fact that all human beings make mistakes and that being childish is very appropriate when you are a child! Programs which encourage a child to see himself as unique and special and not needing to fit into some rigid mold can make a profound contribution to a child's healthy emotional growth.

It is important to watch our children, as well as the television set. Each child reacts differently, in terms of his own sensitivities and needs. If we see a child becoming unusually irritable, hyperactive, anxious, we may want to ask ourselves whether a particular program may be the wrong experience, for this moment, for this child. If a child becomes easily bored, and needs excessive amounts of attention or is disinterested in direct play experiences with other children, it may be that we are allowing too much passive watching.

Supervision of television watching tells our children a great deal about our philosophy of life. We can be better guides to television watching when we ask ourselves such questions as: What do I want my children to believe in? Can I teach them to trust other people? How do I want them to cope with the problems they will face? How do I want them to judge "success" in life? How do I want them to feel about other people? Such searching questions – and the answers we give – will help us decide what television programs are welcome in our homes.

Parents have the power

I'd like to say something about how much power parents really have to improve the quality of programming for children. Chances are that you have greatly underestimated the influence you have. *It is never a waste of time to express your reactions to the television networks.* You would be amazed to see how carefully they read your letters and count your opinions!

One of the main objectives of the American Broadcasting Company in sponsoring this pamphlet is to encourage you to let them know what you like and what you don't like

It is important to express your positive reactions as well. Television networks will sometimes really stick their necks out to do a quality program or series (which is usually very expensive) and they desperately need your support if they are to be given such opportunities in the future. Of equal importance to your letters, is what you do about encouraging your children to watch the best programs put on for children. If you want high quality programming like ABC's Afterschool Specials, the television station needs to know your children are watching! One excellent children's program was experimentally placed opposite cartoons on Saturday morning. It lost out—and so did your children. Cartoons are so plentiful that an hour of something quite different should have been a welcome variation, but the experiment was dropped because the ratings did not justify the additional expense of a live program. The implications of where the power and responsibility lie were very clear in that case.

Concerned parents are very fortunate these days because there is an organization to support their interest in good television programming for children. Action For Children's Television (ACT) was formed in 1968 in Massachusetts, and is dedicated to "high quality, child-oriented programs without commercialism." They have recently published a guide to children's television and regularly distribute a newsletter. They support research, sponsor conferences, and generally do an effective and excellent job of educating and influencing parents as well as television producers. I strongly urge that parents who feel a sense of responsibility for continually improving children's television become members of ACT. (Write for further information to ACT, 46 Austin Street, Newtonville, Massachusetts 02160.)

It's not the TV set, it's the on-off knob that counts

One family "solved" the television problem by relegating the television set to the attic! The mother reported that her children were playing more with the others, showed more imagination and never had any more nightmares. However she added that on several occasions when she knew there were going to be excellent programs on television, she arranged for her children to watch at a neighbor's house! That seems like a cop-out to me. It is like saying we can't have any ice cream or cookies in the house because our children might eat them all at once. What seems more appropriate to me would be the exercising of controls.

One father told me that in his house "Pay TV" is already in operation. Each of his three children must pay ten cents out of their weekly allowances for each program they watch, and he and his wife must pay twenty-five cents each. The accumulated funds are used for family recreation; last year they bought two new bedrolls and a kerosene lamp. "And you'd be amazed at how much television gets turned off when it costs!" he told me.

Ingenious as that may be, I myself am still partial to the parent who has the guts, the fortitude, the deeper sense of duty to come in from the kitchen or climb out of that easy chair, walk with courage and determination over to the television set and with a twist of the wrist, *turn it off*. When was the last time you said, "I am your mother, and I say that's enough for today!", or "This is daddy talking—now hear this: there will be no watching television after bedtime except Children's Specials on holidays!"

The wonders of television

Selective turning on is just as important as selective turning off. Television has added a rich dimension to the lives of our children. They are better informed, they are exposed to cultural experiences they might never otherwise have, they are provided with opportunities for deeper insights into human emotions and relationships.

A friend told me this story: she and her husband and two young sons were caught in a snowstorm on their way to a ski resort, and decided to stop driving and take refuge in a neighborhood tavern in a small town. There was an air of quiet comradeship among the people there, watching the snow and talking quietly. Some older workmen were sitting at a bar, a blonde waitress was flirting with a truck driver at a nearby table. Two teen-agers were dancing near the jukebox. Her son, aged thirteen, looked around the room and said, "This place has a Saroyanesque quality." She and her husband were very impressed. Frank was right – but how did he know? It seems he had recently watched a Saroyan play on television. She told me, "We realized television had exposed Frank to some wonderful experiences that enrich the way he looks at the world."

A lead ballet dancer with the Metropolitan Opera Company comes from a very small town in the Midwest. She told me, "When I was about ten, I saw a ballet on television. I flipped out – it changed my whole life. I'd never had a dance lesson, but the moment I saw the dancers, I knew what I had been born to do. I began dancing in front of a full-length mirror, and I drove my parents crazy, asking to take dancing lessons. They finally found a teacher who lived about twenty-five miles away, and I used all my allowance for the bus fare. That teacher got me a scholarship to study in New York when I was fifteen. I often wonder if I would have found my way to where I belonged if I had not been [illegible] seeing [illegible] on television." Television can and does open windows on the world. It can stimulate wonder and curiosity. It can help young persons gain a broader perspective and clarify their own goals. It can invite the mind to new adventures.

Television as a shared family experience

As a youngster, one father had loved the original Tarzan movies, and had told his children about them many times. One week he noticed in TV Guide that the first Johnny Weissmuller film was to be run—but at 3:00 a.m. It didn't take too much urging for Dad to agree this was "A Very Special Event," and so the children took naps and the whole family went to bed early. At 3:00 a.m. everyone gathered in the living room, then [illegible] about a film, but—no Tarzan! The following morning father called the television station which was supposed to have shown Tarzan to complain. The operator told him there had been some technical difficulty with the film, and then she added, "You know, we've probably had about two hundred calls from Tarzan fathers this morning!" Apparently, many parents have a [illegible] Sharing movies we remember from our childhood with our children gives the whole family a sense of continuity. The "golden times" of our childhood become a new link between the generations.

Much is to be gained by television family experiences. A father told me that with a grim sense of duty he got up early one Saturday morning to watch a program the six-year-old son had been telling him about. As they watched, there was a frightening scene and automatically the son reached over to hold his father's hand. "That sudden touch surprised me—I realized how seldom this had happened

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

now understand an alternative reason which did not make him feel rejected. He was old enough now to identify with both parents. I don't think my wife and I could ever have helped as much as those two programs did." Television used in this way, as an added resource, as a springboard to discussion, can be a humanizing influence on the whole family.

There are times when families aren't having much fun together. One mother reports that she and her twelve year-old daughter seemed to fight about something almost every time they were together. Then they both got interested in watching Julia Child, and when she announced that the next day she would be making something they both liked, they decided to buy the ingredients and cook along. "It was hilarious," this mother said. "Everything Julia did was smooth and easy, everything we did ended in disaster. We spilled things, we were too slow and lost track, we added the wrong things at the wrong time. We were shrieking with laughter and finally just began carrying on like raving maniacs. It was a wonderful release for both of us; we even got along better – for a whole day and a half!"

In conclusion.

☐ Although child's play continues to be the key element in a child's growth years, television can make a valuable contribution toward that growth process.

☐ The vital decision-making power to determine what is good children's television—or bad—should not be made by children alone. Selective turning on by parents is just as important as selective turning off.

☐ By making television viewing a shared family experience, parents cannot help but gain greater insight about their youngsters' feelings—their reactions, their sensitivities, their needs.

☐ The basis by which mom and dad choose which television programs are welcome in their home helps make youngsters more aware of their parents' own values and beliefs.

☐ Watching television with your children can also become a catalyst for deeper discussion on a variety of subjects, a bridging of the communication gap between generations, an open-ended exchange of feelings and ideas.

☐ The more parents become knowledgeable about children's programming, the more they can effectively exercise their power to improve such programming—by expressing their opinions, both pro and con, to the networks and the stations.

☐ Television can open windows on the world; it can stimulate wonder and curiosity; it can invite the mind to new adventures. It is the responsibility of parents to guide their youngsters toward this kind of television—and to share it with them—thereby adding a rich dimension to their children's lives.

We are living through difficult and trying times. All of us are anxious, confused, deeply concerned about the future. In a time of perplexing and rapid social change, it is especially important to keep in touch with our children to help them deal with the problems and challenges they will inevitably face. The only real hope for our society today is whether we can raise a generation of young people so well informed, so full of courage, so understanding of themselves and others, that they will be able to work together to make those wise and mature decisions that will be needed for human survival on this planet. And it is well within the realm of the possible that television, used wisely as a vehicle for richer family sharing, can play a significant part in making these goals possible.

About the author

Eda J. LeShan has been an educator and family counselor for more than 25 years. She received her Bachelor's degree from Teachers' College, Columbia University, in Early Childhood Education, and her Master's degree from Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in Child Psychology. She has worked as a nursery school teacher and director, a therapist in a child-guidance clinic, and a social welfare worker. She is a member of the American Psychological Association, and the Association for Humanistic Psychology.

Mrs. LeShan has been the host of the highly acclaimed public television series for station WNET-TV, How Do Your Children Grow?, which was seen in many parts of the United States. She has also written for many magazines, among them: Parents' Magazine, The New York Times Magazine, Redbook, McCall's and Reader's Digest, and she is now a contributing editor for Woman's Day. Additionally, she authored three public affairs pamphlets, You and Your Adopted Child, The Only Child, and Mates and Roommates: New Lifestyles in Young Marriages.

Her books include: How To Survive Parenthood, The Conspiracy Against Childhood, Sex and Your Teen-Ager, Natural Parenthood, and How Do Your Children Grow? More recently, she wrote The Wonderful Crisis of Middle Age, a book for children entitled What Makes Me Feel This Way?, and a book for adolescents called Understanding Yourself, published this fall.

Mrs. LeShan is listed in Who's Who of American Women, Foremost Women in Communications, Community Leaders in America, The World Who's Who of Women and Two Thousand Women of Achievement.

ATTACHMENT B

ABC-TV 1976-77 PRIME TIME
52 WEEKS
MON-SUN 6:00-11:00 PM

	# OF HOURS	% OF SCHEDULE
News/Public Information	180	13.9
Sports	121	9.3
Entertainment Variety Series/ Entertainment Specials	101-1/2	7.8
Situation Comedy	184-1/2	14.2
Dramatic Series/Specials	139	10.8
Detective/Action	177	13.6
Fantasy/Adventure	187-1/2	14.4
Movies	133-1/2	10.3
Unscheduled	74	5.7
TOTAL	1,298	100.0

ABC-TV 1976-77 PRIME TIME
52 WEEKS
MON-SUN 6:00-11:00 PM

	# OF HOURS	% OF SCHEDULE
News/Public Information	180	13.9
Sports	121	9.3
Entertainment Variety Series/ Entertainment Specials	101½	7.8
Musical	65	5.0
Children's	25½	2.0
Awards	8	.6
Comedy	3	.2
Situation Comedy	184½	14.2
Dramatic Series/Specials	139	10.8
Contemporary	98	7.6
Biographical	15	1.2
Historical	6	.5
Children's	20	1.5
Detective/Action	177	13.6
Fantasy/Adventure	187½	14.4
Movies	133½	10.3
Theatrical	86½	6.7
Comedy	18	
Contemporary	14	
Biographical	3	
Historical	15	
Detective/Action	6	
Adventure	20½	
Occult	8	
Mystery	2	
Made For TV	47	3.6
Comedy	2	
Contemporary	18	
Biographical	7	
Historical	10	
Detective/Action	2	
Adventure	2	
Mystery	2	
Occult	2	
Fantasy	2	
Unscheduled	74	5.7
TOTAL	1,298	100.0

NEWS/PUBLIC INFORMATION

	# OF HOURS
Mon-Fri Evening News	130
Sat Evening News	16
ABC News Close-up	10
State of Union-Carter	1
State of Union-Ford	1
Battle for the White House	1½
Vice-Presidential Debate	1½
Election Night	3½
Presidential Debates	4½
Political Special	1
Barbara Walters Special	5
Year-End Review	1
Pres. Carter Fireside Chat	½
ABC News Brief	3
Sunday Minute Magazine	½
TOTAL	180

SPORTS

	# OF HOURS
NFL Football	34
Mon Nite Baseball	45
Heavyweight Fight	2½
Battle of Network Stars	4
Indianapolis 500	2
Indianapolis Time Trials (6-7)	1
Liberty Bowl	2
Baseball Play-offs	12
Gator Bowl	2
NFL Pro Bowl	2
NCAA Football	9½
Golf Tournaments (6-7)	5
TOTAL	121

ENTERTAINMENT VARIETY SERIES/ENTERTAINMENT SPECIALS

	# OF HOURS
MUSICAL VARIETY	65
Donny & Marie	30
Captain & Tennille	20
John Denver	3
Frank Sinatra	1
Carpenters	1
Perry Como	1
Olivia Newton-John	1
Barry Manilow	1
Paul Anka	1
Steve & Edie	1
American Bandstand	2
Dorothy Hamill	2
Variety Special	1
CHILDREN'S VARIETY	25½
Cos	7
Brady Bunch	9
Archie	1
Journey Back to Oz	2
Year Without Santa Claus	½
Easter Bunny	1
Christmas in Disneyland	1
Rudolph's Shiny New Year	1
Santa Claus is Coming to Town	1
Frosty the Snowman	½
Winnie the Pooh & Tiger Too	½
Funshine Saturday Preview	1
COMEDY VARIETY	3
Paul Lynde	2
Alan King	1
AWARDS	8
Academy Awards	1
Tony Awards	2
American Music Awards	2
And Winner Is--Oscars	2
Tribute to John Wayne	1
TOTAL	101½

SITUATION COMEDY

	# OF HOURS
Happy Days	27
Laverne & Shirley	24½
Welcome Back, Kotter	24½
Barney Miller	23½
Tony Randall	21
What's Happening	21
Nancy Walker	3½
Blansky's Beauties	9
Fish	9½
Three's Company	3
Holmes & YoYo	3½
Mr. T. & Tina	2½
Comedy Pilots	8
TOTAL	184½

DRAMATIC SERIES/SPECIALS

CONTEMPORARY	98
Family	31
Rich Man, Poor Man, Book I	12
Rich Man, Poor Man, Book II	22
Westside Medical	13
Eight is Enough	7
Beggars and Choosers	13
BIOGRAPHICAL	15
Roots	12
Eleanor & Franklin	3
HISTORICAL	6
How The West Was Won	6
CHILDREN'S	20
Nancy Drew	10
Hardy Boys	10
TOTAL	139

DETECTIVE/ACTION

	# OF HOURS
Dog & Cat	14
Most Wanted	22
Baretta	67
Starsky & Hutch	30
Streets Of San Francisco	41
Crunch	3
TOTAL	177

FANTASY/ADVENTURE

Future Cop	10
Wonder Woman	22
Bionic Woman	6½
Six Million Dollar Man	28
Charlie's Angels	28
Feather & Father	13
TOTAL	107½

MOVIES

		# OF SHOWS
THEATRICAL		
COMEDY	55%	[illegible]
Forty Carats		[illegible]
Catch 22		[illegible]
Support Your Local Sheriff		[illegible]
For Pete's Sake		[illegible]
W.W. & Dixie Dance Kings		[illegible]
What's Up, Doc		[illegible]
Yours, Mine & Ours		[illegible]
Thoroughly Modern Millie		[illegible]
Claudine		[illegible]
CONTEMPORARY		[illegible]
Summer Wishes, Winter Dreams		[illegible]
Paper Chase		[illegible]
Bang the Drum Slowly		[illegible]
The Way We Were		[illegible]
Brother John		[illegible]
Flight of the Dove		[illegible]
BIOGRAPHICAL		[illegible]
Patton		[illegible]
HISTORICAL		[illegible]
Sounder		[illegible]
Ten Commandments		[illegible]
Seven Alone		[illegible]
Jeremiah Johnson		[illegible]
Scalphunters		[illegible]
Gunfight		[illegible]
Great American Cowboy		[illegible]
DETECTIVE/ACTION		[illegible]
Electra Glide in Blue		[illegible]
Seven-ups		[illegible]
Long Goodbye		[illegible]
Crazy Joe		[illegible]
Thunderbolt & Lightfoot		[illegible]
ADVENTURE		[illegible]
Suicide Run		[illegible]
Wrecking Crew		[illegible]

MOVIES CONT.

	# OF SHOWS
Goldfinger	[illegible]
Man With the Golden Gun	[illegible]
Live & Let Die	[illegible]
From Russia With Love	[illegible]
Diamonds are Forever	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Dirty Mary, Crazy Larry	[illegible]
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Attachment C

STATEMENT OF
ALFRED R. SCHNEIDER
VICE PRESIDENT
AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANIES, INC.

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 2, 1977

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

My name is Alfred R. Schneider. I am a Vice President of American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. One of my responsibilities is to help formulate, and to implement, the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards relative to the acceptability of program and commercial material scheduled for broadcast over our facilities. The American Broadcasting Company's Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices, which has the responsibility of reviewing and pre-screening prior to telecast all network commercial and programming material other than news, news documentaries, public affairs and sports events, reports to me. I appreciate this opportunity to summarize the policies and procedures utilized by the Department to assure compliance with the Television Code of the National Association of Broadcasters as well as with the internal policies of the American Broadcasting Company.

The Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices operates independently of the ABC Television Network so that there is, in effect, a system of "checks and balances". As a result, the work of the Department is separate from the Program Department's creative evaluations as well as the economic considerations of the Sales Department, all of which are factors considered irrelevant to the question of acceptability for broadcast.

Each entertainment program, series and made-for-television movie is reviewed by an editor in the Department of Broadcast Standards and Practices from the treatment and script stage through final production and editing. Matters relating to program acceptability are carefully discussed and reviewed in detail. Where a particular television program, or series, or made-for-television movie is expected to include sensitive, controversial, or violent portrayals, extensive discussions are held with the producer to ascertain the manner in which he intends to treat the material and to insure that he understands fully the applicable policies and standards. A report is prepared for the producer indicating the acceptability of the script or any appropriate revisions. Prior to broadcast the program is also reviewed at the rough cut, final cut and editing stages and appropriate revisions are made if deemed necessary.

Feature films that have been produced by others for initial theatrical release are screened prior to acquisition by ABC to determine whether major or minor deletions will be required or, as is not uncommon, whether a particular film is completely unacceptable. After acquisition the films are screened again to review prior judgments and, as an additional measure, the edited versions are viewed prior to telecast to insure compliance with broadcast standards and practices directives. We will not telecast a film rated "R".

But we will edit such films and require that such films be resubmitted to the Motion Picture Association of America for reclassification in terms of its judgment, and on the basis of our editing. If the MPAA feels that our edits would have made the picture presentable theatrically with a higher rating than "R", such as "PG" or "G", we will then accept it for telecast.

In certain circumstances an audio and video advisory is broadcast before the start of programs to give parents the opportunity to exercise discretion in regard to younger viewers. We are careful, however, not to use such an advisory in a manner that could cause it to become an invitation for viewing.

Furthermore, prior to broadcast we send to all our affiliated stations, including our owned television stations, detailed information about programs scheduled for broadcast. Briefly, this information consists of: Advanced Program Advisory bulletins detailing content of prime time entertainment programs and closed-circuit previews of these programs on a regularly scheduled rotational basis. We also hold annual meetings for affiliate managers where we discuss programming plans.

Before producing any new program series, the American Broadcasting Company's policies and standards are reviewed with the producer of each series and his staff. At these meetings (the most recent of which having just been concluded in mid-January), we stress that we will not permit the portrayal of violence for the sake of violence itself, or as a device to titillate the viewers, to shock, or to sensationalize a story line. We will not permit authors who have written themselves into a corner to extricate themselves quickly with a little bloodshed. We require that when violence is portrayed, it be responsibly portrayed and its consequences depicted. In addition, we preclude the use of acts of personal violence in teasers, prologues and promotional announcements.

It is clear that gratuitous violence serves no useful purpose. Similarly, while any act may be emulated, we are extremely cautious in avoiding the portrayal of specific, detailed techniques involved in the use of weapons, the commission of crimes, or avoidance of detection. In short, every effort is made to insure that portrayals of violence for its own sake, or unnecessary depictions of excessive force, are excluded from our presentations.

There are, of course, pro-social aspects of aggression that deserve note. Competing to win and fighting back are positive values in our social heritage. Force in the service of discipline and in the preservation of society and social order are forms of aggression we cannot yet do without. Enforcement of parental standards, community standards, and the law itself all require the element of aggression. The limits separating all these from gratuitous violence are not always clearly defined in our culture and society but are part of the responsibility we assume in developing our guidelines.

Moreover, in those programs that contain violent depictions and criminal activities, glorification is avoided so that the portrayals may have the effect of reinforcing real-life prohibitions, thereby acting as a suppressor of violence. In this regard, many of our most heavily viewed offerings have had as their central theme, strong anti-violent statements, requiring violent portrayals for adequate plot development. Examples range from "Pueblo" and "I Will Fight No More Tomorrow" to "21 Hours at Munich", "Entebbe", "Little Ladies of the Night", and most recently, "Roots". In commenting on the script for "Revenge for a Rape", telecast earlier this year, Dr. Heller observed: "If any script shows the consequences in human terms of violently taking the law into one's own hands, and if any script carries with it the pro-social, anti-vendetta message, this one does."

With respect to programming which deals with significant moral or social issues and current topical treatments, it is a requirement that the presentation of this material be accomplished unexploitatively, unsensationally and responsibly.

A practice begun in 1973, which has since become a regular procedure, is the conducting of periodic in-service training workshops for editors under the supervision of our independent psychiatric consultant, Dr. Melvin Heller. Each three-day intensive session, conducted on the West Coast, has concentrated on the area of children's programs, violent portrayals and adult program themes. By utilizing scripts and recently televised programs, an on-going dialogue is pursued. In this manner an effective means is created for the continued development and refinement of guidelines to sharpen our practices, to help us avoid errors in subjective judgment and to meet the established criteria.

This year's session, which coincided with our mid-year producers' meetings, initiated a mid-term review of our action programming and commenced exploration and development of a method for the examination and review of the portrayal of violence on both a qualitative and quantitative basis. We feel that it is improper not to make distinctions between those incidents that may cause tension, distress, or increased aggressive behavior in audiences, and those that are unlikely to do so. We think it error to make no distinction between a comedic aggressive act and a violent criminal one. Thus, this system will hopefully relate an episode of violence in terms of its seriousness; its realism; its relationship in context to humor, to fantasy, to human consequences.

We are doing this because we believe that the primary issue is whether violent sequences in entertainment programs affect behavior, rather than perceptions or attitudes or taste levels.

We have made a special effort to understand the effects of televised violence on children. We commissioned, at a cost of one million dollars, two studies which have just been completed after five years' work.

One series of studies, conducted by Lieberman Research, Inc., under the direction of Dr. Seymour Lieberman, Ph.D., explored the effects of televised violence and programs with pro-social messages on 10,000 normal school children, aged 8-13. Dr. Lieberman developed an instrument and technique which employed a new behavioral device (electric pounding machine) which measures and records the force of a child's blow before and after viewing of televised materials, assessing in that manner the degree of aggressiveness in children.

A separate five-year series of projects, supervised by child psychiatrist Dr. Heller, and the late Dr. Samuel Polsky, utilized numerous psychological and behavioral measures for examination of the effects of televised violence on emotionally-impaired youngsters and institutionalized youngsters from broken homes who might be considered most susceptible to any adverse effects of televised violence. In addition, the Heller and Polsky studies focused on the impact of television on known violent youthful offenders.

Among a number of findings, the reports, in summary form, concluded that while imitative risks existed in post-viewing aggression by certain youngsters, television did not cause assaultive, violent anti-social behavior in children; that exposure to violent television content did not lead to heightened aggressive behavioral violence, but did increase aggressive tendencies in psychological test scores, fantasies and play; that there was no demonstrable relationship between the intensity of televised violence and the intensity of violent behavior; that television programs with more aggressive content produced more aggressive fantasies, and exposure to programs with less aggressive content resulted in decreased aggressive fantasies, play and preoccupation. It was [illegible] found that though television viewing was not a causal [illegible] the development of violent behavioral tendencies among youthful offenders, television sometimes provided a model for the imitation of anti-social techniques in the commission of crimes in persons predisposed to crime.

In order to continue our research efforts we recently solicited proposals from more than 500 colleges and universities for original pilot research projects to ascertain further the social and psychological impact of television programming content upon viewers, particularly children. Grants have been awarded for five pilot projects.

As you are all aware, in 1975 we instituted the family viewing policy, which Mr. Pierce's Statement discusses.

Finally, it should be noted that programs which contain portrayals of violence comprise only a part of our total broadcast day and only a portion of our prime time offerings. Moreover, not only have we decreased on a year-to-year basis the amount of programs dealing with "violence", we have decreased the incidents of violence portrayed within those programs, and, of course, the manner in which these incidents are portrayed is subject to continuing qualitative review procedures.

More significantly, there is a change in direction taking place in the entire prime time programming schedule. There are more mini-series; there are more docu-dramas; there are new forms; and program changes are made throughout the year with the result that there is one "living season" rather than a series of seasons.

We have just concluded, as you know, the telecasting on eight successive nights of "Roots", a series of distinction which incidentally contained violence.

We are very proud of our diversified schedule, including comedies such as "Welcome Back, Kotter", "Happy Days", "Barney Miller" and "The Tony Randall Show"; variety offerings such as "Donny and Marie", the "Brady Bunch Variety Hour" and "Captain and Tennille"; and drama like "Rich Man, Poor Man", "Family" and the upcoming "Eleanor and Franklin".

In sum, what we are doing is, on the one hand, developing and encouraging a diversified program schedule which seeks to evolve new forms, varied program fare and broader choice for the audience, while, on the other hand, directing and intensifying our efforts in the broadcast standards area toward responsible presentation of acts of violence in action programs.

And a final word - while we recognize our responsibility to treat this concern in the manner in which I have stated, we also recognize that it is a shared obligation. There is no substitute for discriminatory parental supervision. While we must exercise a great deal of care with respect to what children watch, we must also remember that we serve the total audience and to do so we must maintain television as a vigorous, vital and changing medium.

Thank you for affording me the opportunity to share ABC's views with you.

ATTACHMENT D

NATIONAL PTA PUBLIC HEARING ON THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH,
Los Angeles, Calif., February 22, 1977

Remarks by
Melvin S. Heller, M.D.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am grateful for this opportunity to meet with you on this most important subject of media, and particularly TV violence, which has increasingly concerned us over this past decade – and which has reached the level of Congressional investigation,[1] Presidential inquiry,[2] and now is the focus of a campaign by the Parent Teachers Association and the American Medical Association.

I am sure that we are confronting television here because we are ultimately interested in controlling violence, rather than in controlling television. It is because of my long-standing interest in the causes of criminal violence that I may have some professional qualifications to appear before you. So, before I focus on television and its connections with violence, let me speak briefly about violence itself.

As a physician, I regard human violence as the greatest, single, public-health threat to our existence. We are in no real, or immediate danger of being wiped off the face of the earth by malaria or cancer or coronary

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[1] U.S. Senate's Commerce Committee: Subcommittee on Communications, John O. Pastore, Chairman.

U.S. Senate: "Television and Juvenile Delinquency," Report of the Committee on the Judiciary #1466, 84th Congress, January, 1956.

[2] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, Chairman, "Commission Statement on Violence and Television Entertainment Programs," September, 1969.

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[illegible]

ITSELF AND THE PUBLIC BY FOCUSING ON TELEVISION RATHER THAN ON THE SOCIAL FAMILY ILLS, POVERTY, CHILD NEGLECT AND ABUSE WHICH HAVE CONSTITUTED THE REAL VIOLENT EXPERIENCES SO OFTEN FOUND IN THE CHILDHOOD BACKGROUNDS OF OUR VIOLENT OFFENDERS. IF THIS GREAT ORGANIZATION WOULD FOCUS ITS ENERGIES ON CONTROLLING HANDGUNS, DRUGS, ALCOHOL AND GANG FORMATION AMONG OUR YOUTH AND ADOLESCENTS, THEN, IN MY VIEW, WE WOULD BE DOING SOMETHING INDEED TO PREVENT AND CONTROL VIOLENCE.

FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO MAY THINK THAT I AM SOME TYPE OF TV APOLOGIST, CONSIDER THE WORDS OF MY COLLEAGUE, WALTER MENNINGER, M.D., UNLIKE A NUMBER OF ALLEGED EXPERTS ON VIOLENCE WHO HAVE APPEARED BEFORE YOU, HAS SPENT A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF HIS PROFESSIONAL CAREER IN WORKING WITH VIOLENT PERSONS. DR. MENNINGER STATED - AND I HOPE PEOPLE WERE LISTENING - AT RECENT HEARINGS IN KANSAS CITY THAT "IT IS A MISTAKE TO SCAPEGOAT THE BLACK BOX AND DISREGARD THE MOST SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE ON CHILDREN, THE REAL PEOPLE IN THEIR LIVES... IT IS THE ADULT MODELS LIVING WITH CHILDREN WHO DETERMINE THEIR ULTIMATE VIOLENT OR NON-VIOLENT BEHAVIOR FAR MORE THAN KOJAK. INTERESTINGLY, STUDIES OF MURDERERS BRING TO LIGHT A HISTORY OF EARLY CHILDHOOD ABUSE AND DEPRIVATION." THIS IS NOT TO EXCUSE TELEVISION, FOR WHILE TELEVISION WILL NOT MAKE A MURDERER, THIEF OR BULLY OUT OF A NON-MURDERER, NON-THIEF OR NON-BULLY, IT HAS IN TOO MANY CASES DEMONSTRATED IN REPLICABLE DETAIL BETTER WAYS FOR THE MURDERER, THIEF OR BULLY TO PURSUE THEIR ENDS.

IN A SOCIETY BELEAGUERED BY VIOLENCE, ITS PORTRAYAL ON TELEVISION IS A MATTER OF UNDERSTANDABLE CONCERN AND CONSEQUENCE. THE ALTERNATIVES FOR TELEVISION ARE THESE: TO ELIMINATE VIOLENCE COMPLETELY OR HAPHAZARDLY AND THUS BELIEVE THAT IT RARELY IF EVER OCCURS, OR TO LEARN TO HANDLE portrayed violence responsibly, so that its potential for good is amplified. In order to do this, there must be a rational and useful system for all of us – parents, teachers, researchers, and the industry – to do more than count, but to seek instead a meaningful measure of the amount and types of violence that appear in television portrayals. While a count of violence could have utility in the development of a unified violence index or profile, it could also be misused or abused. Although put forth as a source of information, such a seemingly simple index could inadvertently provide a basis for the forceful restriction or censorship of programs through the statistical logic of a seemingly scientific, and therefore unimpeachable set of numbers.

Dr. George Gerbner, the Dean of the Annenberg School of Communications of the University of Pennsylvania, has worked at this problem for years, and has developed a rating system based upon a careful count of certain kinds of portrayed violence. Since his definition has been used by the B-I Associates and the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, and is the one which the National Parent Teachers Association and the American Medical Association have used as their basis for assessing violence on television, let us briefly examine what it is that Dr. Gerbner and the National Committee for Broadcasting are counting as violence. I quote from Dr. Gerbner[3] "Violence is the overt expression of physicial force against self or other: and/or compelling action against one's will on pain of being killed or hurt and/or actually hurting or killing."

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[3] Elly M. & Signorelli, Nancy, "An Evaluation of a System for the Continual Monitoring and Periodic Reporting of the Commercial Sponsorship of Television Violence," Rpt. to the Nat'l Comm. for Broadcasting, 12-7-76

Gerbner has also defined violence more broadly as, "involving overt action and serious actual or potential consequences, and excluding voluntary participation on the part of the victim (which excludes violence in sports events)."[4] The factor of willing participation indeed excludes football, hockey and other athletic violence from Dr. Gerbner's count. If voluntary participation is a factor, one must conclude that Dr. Gerbner would also not count the willing leap from the Golden Gate Bridge of two hand-holding lovers as a violent act.

Let us look further at this Gerbner - now PTA - definition of violence which states that an act is to be counted the same whether it "be intentional or accidental, and would include violent accidents, catastrophes, acts of nature and the like." Thus, the story of Noah and the flood, or dramatic fare built about man's attempts to cope with nature's catastrophes are counted equally by Dr. Gerbner and his associates in the same manner as a shoot-out on *Kojak* or *Starsky and Hutch*. In addition, and I quote from Dr. Gerbner, "The violent action may be humorous, serious, or a combination of both." Again, Charlie Chaplain's or Peter Sellers' antics, the slapstick of a Laurel and Hardy pie-in-the-face, are counted exactly the same by Dr. Gerbner and his associates, whose work is cited as the basis for the violence rating index which is currently being used by my own American Medical Association to pressure advertisers into dropping sponsorship from unapproved programs.

Although some may see a scientific basis in this Gerbner - now PTA - definition of violence and counting system, I find that it not only

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[4] Withey, S. B. et al, "A Profile of Televised Violence." Report submitted to the Committee on Television and Social Behavior of the Social Sciences Research Council, July, 1975.

STRAINS LOGIC, BUT IGNORES THE REALITY OF CHILDREN'S EXPERIENCES, AND ANY CONCERN ABOUT CONTEXT OR THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF A GIVEN SCENE UPON THE VIEWER. IN MY VIEW, THE GERBNER COUNT, PURSUED WITH COMPUTERIZED ACCURACY, IS INSENSITIVE TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE VIOLENCE IS PORTRAYED.

I WOULD SAY TO YOU THAT VIOLENCE MUST BE CLASSIFIED BY ITS CONTEXT, BY ITS MEANING IN TERMS OF WHAT THE VIEWER BRINGS TO THE SCREEN, AS WELL AS COUNTED. VIOLENCE TO BE SHOWN TO AN AUDIENCE MUST BE ASSESSED INTELLIGENTLY IN TERMS OF ITS MEANING AND ITS EMOTIONAL IMPACT UPON THE VIEWER. AS A CHILD PSYCHIATRIST, AS A FATHER, AS A MEMBER INDEED OF THE PARENT TEACHERS ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, IT IS MY CONSIDERED PROFESSIONAL OPINION THAT SOME PORTRAYALS OF VIOLENCE ARE VERY GOOD AND IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE TO SEE ON TELEVISION, AND GOOD FOR CHILDREN TO SEE.

FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO MIGHT DISCOUNT MY WORDS OF CAUTION OR THOSE OF DR. MENNINGER, LET ME QUOTE ANOTHER EXPERIENCED STUDENT OF CHILDREN WHOM SOME OF YOU KNOW, DR. BRUNO BETTELHEIM. POINTING TO THE NEED FOR VIOLENCE IN CHILDREN'S STORIES AND FAIRYTALES, BETTELHEIM STATED IN 1975,[5] "PARENTS WHO WISH TO DENY THAT THEIR CHILD...WANTS TO TEAR THINGS, AND EVEN PEOPLE, TO PIECES, BELIEVE THAT THEIR CHILD MUST BE PREVENTED FROM ENGAGING IN SUCH THOUGHTS (AS IF THIS WERE POSSIBLE). DENIED ACCESS TO STORIES IMPLYING THAT OTHERS HAVE THE SAME FANTASIES, THE CHILD IS LEFT TO FEEL THAT HE IS THE ONLY ONE WHO IMAGINES SUCH THINGS. THIS MAKES HIS FANTASIES REALLY SCARY. ON THE OTHER HAND,

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[5] BETTELHEIM, BRUNO, "REFLECTIONS (FAIRYTALES)" THE NEW YORKER, 12-8-75.

LEARNING THAT OTHERS HAVE THE SAME OR SIMILAR FANTASIES MAKES US ALL FEEL THAT WE ARE A PART OF HUMANITY AND ALLAYS OUR FEAR THAT HAVING SUCH DESTRUCTIVE IDEAS HAS PUT US OUTSIDE THE COMMON PALE." BUT THIS IS NOT A SCIENTIFIC FORUM, AND PERHAPS I SHOULD NOT QUOTE DR. BETTELHEIM BECAUSE WE COULD QUOTE EACH OTHER BACK AND FORTH,WITH CONFLICTING EVIDENCE AND OPINIONS OF DOZENS OF AUTHORITIES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ISSUE OF THE CHILD'S NEED TO EXPERIENCE AND ASSIMILATE EXTERNAL REPRESENTATIONS OF VIOLENCE. NEVERTHELESS, CHILDREN MUST LEARN TO IDENTIFY AND COPE WITH THEIR OWN VIOLENT IMPULSES, FRUSTRATIONS AND RAGES IN THEIR EVERYDAY DEVELOPMENT, AND THERE IS - IN MY PROFESSIONAL VIEW - MUCH VIOLENCE THAT CAN BE PRESENTED IN DRAMATIC FARE THAT IS GOOD FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN, AND THE REFLECTION OF ADULTS ALIKE. CERTAINLY, YOU WOULD AGREE THAT THE PRESENTATION OF VIOLENCE WITHIN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF A MAJOR ANTI-VIOLENT THEME SUCH AS ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT, MAY WELL BE GOOD AND IMPORTANT FOR PEOPLE TO SEE. I WOULD CITE THE RECENT TELEVISION SHOW, I WILL FIGHT NO MORE FOREVER, THE STORY OF THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS AND THEIR VIOLENT AND BLOODY PURSUIT BY THE CAVALRY AND FINAL DECIMATION CLOSE TO THE VERY BORDER OF THESE GREAT UNITED STATES AND CANADA. AND I WOULD LIKE MY CHILDREN AND YOURS AS WELL TO SEE AGAIN THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN, BROADCAST MANY TIMES ON NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION, AND PERHAPS THE BLOODIEST TELEVISION SHOW I HAVE EVER SEEN, PORTRAYING THE DECIMATING, FRATRICIDAL BATTLE BETWEEN THE SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS AND LOWLANDERS. IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT PERSONS WHO ARE IGNORANT OF HISTORY ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT. AND I FOR ONE WOULD NOT BE SO QUICK TO COUNT OUT AN ANNUAL TELEVISION VISIT ON SUNDAY MORNING TO BUCHENWALD, OR THE BEACHHEAD AT NORMANDY OR THE VILLAGE OF MY LAI.

It is important that Dr. Gerbner's counting system, which the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting and this PTA have swallowed lock, stock and barrel, be carefully examined by all of you. By Dr. Gerbner's count the recent, significant series, *Roots*, would not have made it on American television. And yet, is there a well meaning person in this audience who does not feel that that powerful presentation, despite its defects and flaws and with all of its violence, was something that every man, woman and child in this country should see and discuss and reflect upon, so that a new generation would feel more than ours did the degradation of slaves and their slightly better off cousins whom we still call maids, sharecroppers and migrant workers?

And, on a lighter note, I would urge you, along with Bettelheim, not to censor so quickly the treasured, but clearly violent fantasy fare of children's fairytales or the futuristic stories of *Buck Rogers* or *Star Trek*, despite their deathrays and cosmic explosions. Portrayed violence which is presented in a clear context of humor, fantasy or accident, or within the dramatic vehicle of a major anti-violent theme, cannot be counted equally with the serious-intentional depictions of violence on *Hawaii Five-O*, for example. As for Dr. Gerbner's equal count of accidental and intentional incidents, I believe that if children see accidents on television, and particularly their consequences, they may be more mindful of the dangers which surround them. If any of you have taken driver's education, you are aware of the standard state police film which lets each and every driver know what happens when a speeding object strikes an immovable one. A count without context is meaningless.

WHAT IS NEEDED ARE WORKABLE GUIDELINES, FOR EDITORS, WRITERS, PRODUCERS AND PARENTS AND TEACHERS ALIKE - GUIDELINES THAT CLASSIFY AND DISTINGUISH DEPICTIONS OF VIOLENCE WHICH ARE SERIOUS-INTENTIONAL AND REALISTIC FROM THOSE WHICH ARE PRESENTED IN A CLEAR CONTEXT OF FANTASY, HUMOR, ACCIDENT, FRIENDLY PLAY OR HORSEPLAY - AND CERTAINLY FROM THOSE WHICH ARE PRESENTED IN THE CLEAR CONTEXT OF MAJOR ANTI-VIOLENT THEMES. AND FOR GUIDELINES TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THEY MUST RATE THE PORTRAYED HUMAN CONSEQUENCES OF EACH VIOLENT DEPICTION AS EITHER SUPERFICIAL,OR EMOTIONALLY MEANINGFUL.

I HAVE NO QUESTION THAT THE ENTERTAINMENT AND PLAY OF CHILDREN REQUIRES SUPERVISION. SUPERVISING CHILDREN IS NEITHER A PRIMARY NETWORK NOR GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY BUT A BASIC PARENTAL ONE. WHEN PARENTAL SUPERVISION IS INADEQUATE, THEN THERE IS A JOINT RESPONSIBILITY TO BE SHARED AMONG PARENTS, NETWORKS AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. I WOULD HOPE THAT WE COULD PROCEED WITH THAT BY FOCUSING OUR JOINT AND COOPERATIVE ATTENTION ON WHAT IT IS THAT CHILDREN ARE LEARNING FROM TELEVISION.

MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF LABORATORY OR SURVEY RESEARCH ALONE WILL NOT SUPPLY THE ANSWER TO THIS, NOR WILL ONE-SIDED OR ANECDOTAL ACCOUNTS FROM INDIVIDUAL PARENTS, TEACHERS OR OUTRAGED PSYCHIATRISTS.

"IF CHILDREN ARE LEARNING BAD THINGS FROM TELEVISION, OR ANYTHING AT ALL, THE LOGICAL PLACE TO FIND OUT MORE ABOUT IT IS WHERE THEIR LEARNING IS EVALUATED, TESTED AND ASSESSED DAILY - THE CLASSROOM. IT IS CLEAR THAT TELEVISION TEACHES SOMETHING. WHAT BETTER PROSPECT OF UTILIZING, ASSESSING AND CAPITALIZING ON THE IMPRESSIONS AND MISIMPRESSIONS THAT CHILDREN RECEIVE FROM TELEVISION THAN IN THE CLASSROOM? (IF HALF HOUR programs were assigned to even first grade classes and then discussed like any story or show and tell, untoward reactions to television could be quickly identified, misinformation and inappropriate advertizing could be debunked and the children would learn to evaluate assigned television entertainment under the leadership of the person entrusted with their learning and intellectual development - their teacher.) Such systematic data...would allow teachers and educators to assess over a longitudinal period the influence and impact of television experience as it affects the thinking and actual behavior of children...(and) would provide mutually rewarding information for researchers, educators and television programmers alike."[6]

With respect to the above suggestion, the editorial page of the official Journal of the New Jersey School Board's association[7] stated, "Is tv violence a myth... or a monster...?...We have heard from the critics and the apologists, but few comments have been as intriguing and potentially helpful and the...(above) proposal....Concerned parents, educators, board members and students welcome this refreshing approach..."

That is the direction in which I think we need to be heading together. The other day a friend of mine, a child psychiatrist ardently involved in this developing PTA campaign, and rigidly fixed in his position, urged me to join in his efforts. When I tried to say that there were other factors, mitigating considerations perhaps, he cut me off, stating,

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[6] Heller, M.S. and Polsky, S., *Studies in Violence and Television*, American Broadcasting Company, N.Y., 1976.

[7] Editorial, *The New Jersey School Leader*, May-June, 1975, P.O. Box 909, Trenton, N.J.

"THIS IS A CAMPAIGN, THIS IS A WAR. THERE ARE NO IN-BETWEEN POSITIONS. YOU'RE EITHER WITH US OR AGAINST US. IT'S BLACK OR WHITE - NO IN-BETWEENS". I DON'T THINK HE REALIZED HOW INTEMPERATE HE SOUNDED. I FEEL STRONGLY ABOUT THE AMERICAN MEDIA, PARTICULARLY ONE AS POTENTIALLY AWESOME AND POWERFUL IN SHAPING HUMAN OPINION LIFESTYLES AND INFORMATION AS TELEVISION. IT IS THE VERY POWER OF THIS MEDIUM TO REACH EQUALLY MILLIONS OF VIEWERS AT ONE TIME WHICH MAKES US WONDER AT ITS POTENTIAL, AND FEAR ITS ABUSE THROUGH CONTROL BY PRESSURE GROUPS, GOVERNMENT CZARS, OR SELF-APPOINTED CENSORS, NO MATTER HOW WELL-INTENTIONED. WHO AMONG YOU WILL TELL ALL THE PEOPLE WHAT IS GOOD FOR THEM TO SEE? DO WE SPEAK FOR THE POOR, THE BLACKS, FOR OTHER MINORITIES IN THIS ROOM? THEIR VIEWING PREFERENCES MAY OR MAY NOT BE OURS. I SEE FEW CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS AMONG US. BUT THERE IS NO SHORTAGE OF THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO PRESCRIBE NOT ONLY FOR THEIR OWN CHILDREN BUT FOR THEIR NEIGHBORS' CHILDREN AS WELL.

AS A PARENT, LET ME REMIND YOU THAT CHILDREN ARE NOT ALWAYS EASILY PERSUADED TO DO WHAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO DO, AND THAT IS PROBABLY THE WAY GOD MEANT THEM TO BE. THEY CAN STUBBORNLY RESIST THE BEST PRESCRIPTIONS OF THEIR ELDERS INCLUDING COD LIVER OIL, OVER-SHOES, PIANO LESSONS, OR WATCHING A WORTHWHILE TELEVISION PROGRAM INSTEAD OF THEIR PREFERRED SHOW AT THE SAME HOUR. SIMILARLY, VERY FEW OF THEIR PARENTS PREFER HARPER'S OR THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY TO THE LOCAL NEWS WITH ONLY SMATTERING ATTENTION TO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

SOMEHOW THE VIEW PERSISTS THAT IF EXPERTS COULD JUST GET THEIR HANDS ON CHILDREN LONG ENOUGH TO INDOCTRINATE THEM PROPERLY, THEN EDITORIAL SECTIONS would be preferred to sports sections, classical music to popular music and things would go better with milk. What is increasingly apparent to me both as a father and a teacher is that young people wish increasingly to express their own learning preferences, and follow their own entertainment interests particularly when they are outside of regulated, prescribed school hours.

I resent those who would impose involuntarily a curfew on my children, or a moratorium on their viewing of such allegedly violent favorites as Charlie Chaplin, Laurel and Hardy, or even the Three Stooges and the Pink Panther. Please, let us try to think about whether such fare is really harmful, and whether we need to be more tolerant, more human and more confident in our children's ability to separate fact from fantasy, humor from seriousness, and play from reality.

With reasonable guidelines which will be useful to all of us, we can come together - instead of engaging in an adversary war of words and lawsuits - to bring better programming reflective of the broad and varied tastes of the children and adults who make up this great American viewing public.

I thank you for your kind attention.

Melvin S. Heller, M.D.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Thank you, Mr. Pierce.

Mr. Schneider?

Mr. Alfred Schneider. My statement is attached to Mr. Pierce's statement which is a composite and I do not think it is necessary to repeat it again.

Mr. Van Deerlin. All right, thank you. One might suppose, on hearing the testimony that you gentlemen have offered, if overlaid against the testimony that we heard in Los Angeles late last summer from the people involved in production, that we are operating, not at two opposite ends of the continent, but on different planets.

I asked the assistant counsel to find the transcript of that hearing in Los Angeles, because I seem to recall that a number of witnesses there had spelled out a picture vastly different from what we have just heard. I am referring to comments of Mr. Rintels on the first day of the hearing. Speaking for the Screen Writer's Guild, he testified as follows:

> There is so much violence on television because the networks want it. They want it because they think they can attract viewers by it. They attract sponsors, and affiliate stations welcome it.
>
> There is additionally hard evidence that the networks not only approve violence on television, they have been known to request and inspire it. In this connection we refer to the testimony of William O'Brien concerning the show "[illegible]" before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights on February 8, 1972, as also to the 1972 Report of the Surgeon General of the United States on violence which states in its technical report: "To remain in production, a producer must be able to conform to the changing directives of the network. Those producers who are committed to particular artistic and ethical values have trouble remaining in the commercial field."

Well, now we have heard testimony from Mr. Traviesas that there is contact with the artists and producers from the very inception, because you wish to avoid starting them down a road of production that will not meet network standards. That would seem to be the restraining influence on the creative community.

What about the influence to which Mr. Rintels' testimony referred? Are your program planners really out there trying to whomp up violence, or was Mr. Rintels going off base?

Mr. Traviesas. May I address myself to that, please? Mr. Rintels, as you know—and I happen to know him personally—is a writer——

Mr. Van Deerlin. And we all know what writers are like.

Mr. Traviesas. No; he is unfortunately—in my previous comment, one of the things that happens when we go before producers with the interpretation of our standards is relayed sometimes two or three times down the line, and therefore there comes to the writer of a series a very negative approach or one that says, oh, they want more violence.

I have never heard, in my NBC experience, of a program executive saying that he wants more violence.

Mr. Van Deerlin. But you head this staff of 43 persons—which seems an inordinately high number to me, just to be saying no. Clearly, your people are not asking more violence. But there are some other fellows out there working for the same company, and apparently your paths do not cross except when you come down to Washington.

Mr. Traviesas. Again, at NBC the function of the program department and the broadcast standards department go side by side;

even though we report at different levels we work very closely together.

For instance, the program schedule that is recommended in, say, April of every year is reviewed by the broadcast standards department to be certain that the programs that they are recommending can meet the specific standards of our management and each series is carefully reviewed both as to the time period in which it is to be placed and the actual concept of the show.

There are more than one time—several times—where a program concept which went into the expense of even a pilot—has been refused because it did not meet the standards that both the program department and ourselves felt that should be on the air.

Mr. JAMES ROSENFIELD. Mr. Chairman, you did not have the opportunity to meet Van Gordon Sauter who is vice president for program practices for the CBS Television Network. He does not have a prepared statement. He has joined us at this table. He would like to make a comment on your question.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. We would like very much to hear it.

Mr. SAUTER. I appreciate it, Mr. Chairman.

In responding to what Mr. Rintels had to say, I think it is accurate to say that we are discussing here the action-adventure type of program series and I think it is fair to say that the action-adventure series is a very legitimate part of the television entertainment spectrum. That form has been with us for years in drama and literature, and it is highly appropriate to television.

Mr. Rintels has indeed said there is too much violence on television—and even by saying that, we begin to put a quantity on it, and we ask the question then, how much is just right?

As the scientists are unable to agree as to what impact, if any, television programing has upon the society, or the way the society perceives itself, the scientists are equally unable to tell us how much violence in action-adventure programing is just right.

Mr. Rintels testified about 10 days ago at the PTA hearing in Los Angeles, where I also testified. With some other people at this table, we chatted with Mr. Rintels at some length before and after the testimony. Mr. Rintels said there—and he said it publicly from the witness stand—that he knew of a few occasions when producers or writers were asked to add violence to television programs.

He then went on to say that what the producers strive for and the writers strive for, and to some degree the networks strive for, is to some degree a heightened sense of action, the element of jeopardy, the element of excitement which is inherent to that genre of program.

But again, he said he knew of only a few occasions where there was any request made for violence.

I may say that we, in Program Practices, live in the same office areas and deal constantly with the people in the programming department. And I know at our network—and I presume it is the same with our two competitors—we operate under the same ground rules, and those ground rules are that we should not have excessive or gratuitous violence.

I should also note that this year we have reduced by 25 percent the amount of violence in our programs from first script submiscision to the actual air product. In other words, if the first scripts were put on the air precisely as they came to us, there would have been 24 percent more acts of violence on our television network this year.

Mr. Van Deerlin. How do you define acts of violence?

Mr. Stevens. I will tell you what the CBS definition is——

Mr. Van Deerlin. You have 24 percent less of something.

Mr. Stevens. Twenty-four percent fewer acts, individual acts, of violence.

Mr. Van Deerlin. I understand that. I just——

Mr. John Schneider. He is going to give you the precise definition as we use it—and as we have made it public over the years, I may add.

Mr. Stevens. An act of violence, as we define it, is the use of physical force against persons or animals or the articulated, explicit threat of physical force to compel particular behavior on the part of a person.

Mr. Van Deerlin. There again, reference was made to the acts of violence by number as being less significant than the meaning of the act of violence—not by you, by an earlier witness. They were talking about violence that conveys some kind of message, as opposed to gratuitous violence, which is in there for its own sake.

I did not see the full 12 hours of "Roots"; I think I saw most of it. I should judge that the supreme violence in that entire series came at the moment when Kunta Kinte was, by implication, offered his choice of being castrated or having his foot chopped off. And we then came to the actual act of having his foot chopped off.

I cannot imagine a depiction of violence that could be more aggravated than that, and yet it was a key to the whole story. I do not think that anyone would come to you complaining that that was gratuitous violence.

To go around chopping feet off in a half-hour adventure story or a so-called police show, it seems to me, would be an entirely different thing.

Mr. John Schneider. Yes. I do not think any of us at this table, Mr. Chairman, disagree with that. It relates to the whole matter that Dr. Gerbner was addressing this morning.

We do not know what he means by "nonsolid violence." We must recognize that Dr. Gerbner is not dealing only with acts of violence here when he talks about a television violence index, and his index is made up of many, many things.

Mr. Van Deerlin. But apparently it had the same base standard of measurement that it had in 1974, in 1975, and in 1976.

Mr. John Schneider. Well, as long as Dr. Gerbner is doing 1 week, I do not think the year-to-year comparisons are as meaningful as they might be.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Well, do you not live or die on rating services which measure 1 week out of a month?

Mr. John Schneider. Every day of the year, sir.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Not for the local stations; they do not.

Mr. John Schneider. No; they go for 3 months of the year on the local stations.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Frey?

Mr. Fish. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There are a couple of questions that I would like to follow up on. Mr. [illegible], one of the previous witnesses testified that there was no correlation whatsoever between violence and the Nielsen ratings. Is that so? Do you all agree with that?

Mr. [illegible]. I do not agree that there is a correlation. I only speak for myself.

Mr. [illegible]. NBC would say that. I have in front of me the fourth Nielsen ratings. I have the top 10 programs and I would only classify three of those programs to be action type that get to the top 10 programs.

Mr. [illegible]. May I, Congressman?

Mr. Fish. Yes, surely.

Mr. [illegible]. I would just like to make a comment on that. I think viewers watch good programs and they watch people and situations that they relate to as opposed to content.

To get back, Mr. Chairman, to your question before, part of the problem we have here is how we define violence and while Mr. [illegible]'s survey is very well intended, it deals with a quantitative measurement as per his own definition of what violence is as opposed to a qualitative definition within the context of a program.

Your illustration before as to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] that was [illegible] being cut off. We can [illegible] and we can think that on the screen, but [illegible] perceived that. And this is part of the problem we have in terms of the perception that is created by some of the surveys about what violence is.

As I alluded before, in the family hour, I listed the programs that NBC now has in the family hour and someone before mentioned "Donny and Marie." Well, in one of the surveys "Donny and Marie" is an innocent comedy-variety program where Marie [illegible] Donny in the stomach as a gag and that is counted as an incident of violence.

That is part of the problem we are facing by mechanical count, and that

Mr. Fish. Is it established that that was counted as an incident of violence?

Mr. [illegible]. I do not think it was in Mr. Gerbner's study. I gather that it was in other surveys, though.

Mr. Fish. Well, thank you. I guess I asked a question.

Let me say this. I think we are spending a lot of time today and have spent a lot of time, and I am really not sure either how to define violence. However, just as an individual, I think I can pretty well see the difference of opinion on how to approach it in this committee.

I think as an individual and a parent, there is too much violence regardless how you characterize it on television.

I do not care what survey it is or how it is conducted. Personally I just think there is too much violence. Now what we can do about it and how we can handle it, I am not so sure as to that, and I certainly applaud what you each are doing as described in your testimony. But I still think we have [illegible] a way to go before it gets to the place where I would like to see it. I would like my kids to be able to watch television.

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There is just one other matter that really bothers me. I wrote a letter, Mr. Chairman, on July 21, 1975, to a number of individuals including the presidents of the networks at that time suggesting that an advisory committee be established to look at and approach a lot of these matters on a coordinated basis.

The idea went over with a real big thud. As a matter of fact, I did have a couple of people come by, at least, but nobody wrote me. Because it was such a hot subject, nobody would even reply in writing to it—which I guess is understandable.

But I still think, and I think that one of you gentlemen touched on it, that we do need a lot more research and a lot more information. I really see nothing that is wrong about coordinated research through either the networks or through the programers; and if maybe there is some action that the Congress could take in that area if there is a problem to help it I certainly for one think we should be able to look into this.

I just do not think enough has been done. I think a start has been made, but I do not think we can spend a lot of time patting ourselves on the back about it.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Wirth?

Mr. Wirth. Mr. Chairman, I thought, first, for those who do not know who David Rintels is, he is a very fine and successful writer who wrote the screenplay for, and won an Emmy, I believe, for "The Senator," which was on "The Bold Ones" and which was later taken off, and is currently one of the producers of, and the dramatizer of "The Company," which I think is going to be on ABC—is that right?—this fall.

Mr. Pierce. I was waiting for the appropriate moment to mention that.

Mr. Wirth. I was not trying to plug that. It was only to identify Mr. Rintels.

I wanted to ask you gentlemen, it seems to me that we are sort of at a water-shed moment here after at least 15 years of discussion of the issue of violence on television, it seems to me that we have gotten to the point where we are finally able to agree that we are not going to talk any more, does television violence have an impact on kids, that everybody has agreed on that and now it is a question of degree.

Are you all agreed with that statement?

Mr. Pierce. I have a concern, Congressman. Because television is so widely viewed by children, I think we have to provide ways of measuring potential impact and in the process I think we have to diversify our schedule so we move away from forms that lend themselves or containing incidents of violence.

I am not certain scientifically whether it has been proven yet.

Mr. Wirth. You felt—from the perspective of ABC, you are saying that ABC officially believes there is still a question as to whether there is a correlation of violence in the behavior of kids, is that right?

I thought we have gone beyond that and that is why you were drawing off all of this violence, and that is why the advertisers are concerned, and we are, as I say, beyond that watershed for the first time. I was about to breathe a sigh of relief and go on from there, but maybe we have not come to that point.

Mr. PIERCE. I think we have changed our program to reflect this concern. Just speaking scientifically, though, I do not know if that has been definitely proven, yet.

Mr. HOWARD. We have a study that was commissioned quite a few years ago. It will be out in May and this may answer some of the questions.

This was started back—actually, the concept in back of the study was in 1969 by Dr. Ronald Milavsky and I am told that the title of it will be "The Effects of Viewing TV Violence on the Change in Aggression of Elementary School Children, the Basic Findings of a 3-Year Longitudinal Study," and that will be out in May. It will give us, for the first time, I think, qualitative information.

All we have talked about here and in the other studies have been more or less on a quantitative basis, and I think with this we will have a qualitative one.

Mr. WIRTH. So as far as NBC——

Mr. HOWARD. Now, let's put that aside. What I have said here today is that we have recognized that there has been too much violence on television, on all the networks, and we are doing something about it, and we have taken the step last year to start building with our program development in other directions.

Mr. WIRTH. But again, you are not sure that it has impact——

Mr. HOWARD. We are not.

Mr. WIRTH. So for artistic reasons or economic reasons you are taking violence off, not because there is any sense that maybe it is having a severe impact on kids. Is that correct?

Mr. HOWARD. I am saying that there are no scientific findings that show that.

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. Schneider?

Mr. JOHN SCHNEIDER. We do not accept any direct causality with what is on television, but we have reduced violence substantially; as long as there may be an assumption or presumption of causality, we think the responsible course of action is to reduce.

Mr. WIRTH. All right.

All three networks at this point are saying that you still think the jury is out and that there is no evidence so far? This kind of reminds me, in a way, of the tobacco industry 20 years ago; there is no relationship between smoking and health.

Anyway, assuming, you know, that we are still not at that watershed, let me jump to Mr. Gerbner's suggestion the first thing this morning. What would you all think of the idea that he suggested at the end of his testimony that all of the evidence that you have accumulated and the methodology and so on, and all the evidence that he has collected and the other students of the subject have collected be put on file at the Archives so that they are open documents, so that everybody can look at those and examine other people's methodology and maybe—as I think Mr. Frey was suggesting—come up with some kind of an agreed upon methodology and study that everybody might get behind in looking at this issue so that maybe we can determine that once and forever so that——

Mr. JOHN SCHNEIDER. We have no problem with that, Mr. Wirth. We have filed all of the work of our Office of Social Research in this area. It has been made public; copies have been provided to congressional committees and we have been public.

So it causes no problem at CBS whatsoever. As to Dr. Gerbner, we would settle for even knowing what week he surveyed. We would settle for that, for a start.

Mr. Howard. As far as any NBC studies are concerned, certainly we would make them available to everyone.

Mr. Pierce. As far as ABC is concerned, we have made our surveys available and as I stated in my prepared remarks in the last paragraph, we would welcome anything that we would improve what is on television because we are concerned with the vitality of the medium.

Mr. Wirth. Perhaps then we could proceed from there on the basis of Dr. Gerbner's suggestion.

I wanted to ask you a question about the role of advertisers, but we have limited time, so let me just very briefly ask you about the notion suggested by Westinghouse, which you are all, I am sure, familiar with, and it is sort of a paradox, I think, in that it is the local stations who have the sanction over their head of license renewal or withdrawal and yet apparently a lot of evidence suggests that they have very, very little program control, and that you all are not licensed and yet you are providing most of the programing.

What do you think of the suggestion put forward by Mr. McGannon and the Westinghouse people in terms of giving the local stations a lot more lead time, and should there be some kind of a rulemaking at the FCC separating it out from their other docket so that they look at this separately, and maybe we can get that going for the fall?

Mr. John Schneider. I would not presume to comment on the legality of the right to sever that out of the overall network proceeding but dealing with the broad idea, we do preview. It was indicated this morning, I think, and this afternoon, that the previewing of programing by any of the networks for its affiliates was something that we were not helpful with, were not cooperative with, and indeed had not done in the past.

I think it is important that we set the record straight. Mr. Howard reflected in his statement that they preview anywhere from 10 to 14 hours a week. CBS does about as well.

We put advance programs on the line from 9 to 10 in the morning and from 1 to 1:30 in the afternoon when we are not regularly programing the networks. From 4:30 to 6:30 in the evenings and from 7:30 to 8 we feed closed circuit material to our affiliates.

The difficulty is that they are not getting it long enough ahead of time.

Now, what is long enough ahead of time? Some programs they get as much as 2 weeks; some, as short a time as 3 days.

When they get a program 3 days ahead of time, it is probably because we are getting it from our supplier 3 days ahead of time.

Mr. Wirth. It seems to me, in sort of thinking ahead, can you not get your supplier to do it, rather than 2 or 3 days ahead of time, a month ahead of time——

Mr. John Schneider. Well, last year we tried to open up the time period between which the network schedule was set orders placed, and when we took delivery for the first time at the start of this season in mid-September.

We opened that period up approximately 6 weeks, hoping to get our material in earlier. We take no comfort from the crisis of delivery of not receiving the finished product until 3 days before air. It gives us no satisfaction.

Mr. **Wirth.** But it is the local individual who suffers because of the——

Mr. **John Schneider.** He suffers as we do.

Mr. **Wirth.** Maybe some kind of contractual thing could be worked out so that you get that long enough ahead of time.

Mr. **John Schneider.** Our contracts call for delivery more than 3 days ahead of time. We would not sign a contract with a supplier to give us a program 3 days before air date.

The classic line in the broadcast business—or indeed most of the entertainment show business—is, do you want it funny or do you want it Tuesday?

And so the program goes back for rework. It shreds. The process becomes shredded by the time we start taking delivery on the product. We would like it earlier.

Mr. **Wirth.** If the local individual, if he gets it the day before or 2 hours before, really have anything else to put on?

Mr. **John Schneider.** He is not getting it hours before. Chances are he gets it 3 or 4 days before.

Mr. **Wirth.** Even if he gets it that 3 or 4 days or 1 week before, does he generally have material that he can replace it with if he has the responsible individual?

Mr. **John Schneider.** Yes.

Mr. **Wirth.** He does have that?

Mr. **John Schneider.** I can say from experience that stations have libraries of programs that are suitable and successfully can replace, on a limited basis, a network program.

I say on a limited basis because I do not know if the station has enough in inventory that it could replace a program for a whole year, for example. But it can replace a half hour or 1 hour or a 2 hour feature film with ease on a limited basis and occasional basis.

Mr. **Frey.** Would the Congressman yield?

In your experience, how often does this happen? Do you have any percentage figures on this kind of happening?

Mr. **John Schneider.** It would only be a guess on my part, Mr. Frey. I would defer to my two colleagues here if they have hard numbers; I do not.

Mr. **Pierce.** Mr. Frey, I would say it is the exception rather than the rule and I would just like to add some further comments, if it is appropriate——

Mr. **Frey.** That really does not pin it down too much, you know.

Mr. **John Schneider.** Mr. Frey, let me say this: There are series that might tend to be preempted by an affiliate because of the nature of the series. I do not know of a single "Mary Tyler Moore Show" that has ever been preempted because of content.

On the other hand, we might have a series of feature films where a given affiliate might preempt two or three a year because he was uncomfortable with the content.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** If you would yield further, Mr. Wirth; were you referring just to violence, or——

Mr. **John Schneider.** I was talking about preemption for content purposes, not for preemption for local public service.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** Was yours not the network on which a second showing of the "Maude" episode dealing with abortion was not accepted by about 25 percent of the affiliates?

Mr. **John Schneider.** I do not recall that the percentage was that high, but it was a two-parter on abortion.

Mr. **Van Deerlin.** The blackout was 100 percent in San Diego.

Mr. **John Schneider.** That's the way it is with broadcasting; it is either all or nothing.

Mr. **Wirth.** I think part of the thrust of what the Westinghouse people were suggesting was that the local individual really has the pressure on him in terms of having to view that in a short period of time, having then to find that he has to reply to his sponsors and his viewers that he does not have the program on, and maybe fearing ultimate sanction from the network if he refuses too many programs or does not like what he is getting, you know, he may be chopped off at the pass and not have his affiliation maintained.

Mr. **John Schneider.** No, really there is no reason to believe that.

Mr. **Wirth.** There is no——

Mr. **John Schneider.** There is no precedent of that kind.

What he would do is if he was embarrassed on a regular basis by a short leadtime of a series that caused him particular trouble is that he would preempt the series.

Mr. **Howard.** We have 22 hours of prime time a week. As we have said, we are sending down to the stations 10 to 15 hours. Now, the only thing that would give us a problem is late delivery of product.

Now you have got to realize that the programs that we are sending down have been through the screening system of our standards people so it is very rare that you have a station that will disagree with our own standards people and I think over the years—just take the past year, it has been very rare that we have had disagreements with any of our affiliates on that basis.

Mr. **John Schneider.** Mr. Wirth, the reason he wants 28 days is that TV Guide closes 28 days before publication date. Newspapers do not close 28 days ahead of time. He wants 28 days so that he can reflect and then avoid the TV Guide listing.

That is really the lever there. You do not need to reflect on it for a month. You see something; it is acceptable, or it is not. It is not a tortured process.

Mr. **Pierce.** Congressman, if I may add a point to that, we have had a policy for a number of years where we meet with all our affiliates annually in May of every year, and we review our entire program schedule consisting of series and we give him as much information as we have at that time and they see the product.

I think what is being referred to is specific execution of episodes and specific execution of movies or specific execution of dramas or specific executions of novels which are not ready at that point in time.

We do provide advance program information for all of our affiliates in written form, and in particular, as far as Mr. McGannon is concerned at Westinghouse, we have worked with him and representatives of his for the last couple of years and have prescreened prior to TV Guide's closing—which may have been 3 or 4 weeks—any product which he may consider to be controversial.

We do have an ongoing practice with our affiliates, and I think we do handle this—and believe me, our affiliates determine very aggressively what they want to carry and what they do not carry. They do have a complete say in what they pick up from the network continuously throughout the year.

Mr. Wirth. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was thinking that maybe what we could do is to get Mr. Rintels and you three gentlemen together and film that and then send that out to all the affiliates and if they did not like what was on it, or wanted some high comedy, or wanted some good public affairs programing you could put that on.

Mr. Pierce. Actually, as you said, David Rintels is writing a 12-hour novel for ABC next year and he is a very sensitive man and sometimes tends to get a little emotional.

Mr. Van Deerlin. Mr. Russo?

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

First let me say that I want to congratulate NBC for winning the Network Stars the other night. I think it was terrific. You came back after a terrible loss. Telly Savalas needs some help for CBS and I am available to help CBS out.

Let me just say, I noticed the heading of this hearing today, Mr. Chairman, was sex and violence and nobody has talked about sex today at all. I assume it is OK.

Mr. Van Deerlin. That is why I recognized you next in order.

Mr. Russo. Nobody has ever addressed the question of it today and it is very interesting. I just thought maybe I would bring it up and maybe a couple of witnesses would talk about whether or not sex is excessive on television and whether or not there is a problem there.

In talking with programers, and talking also with network representatives, there seems to be a tremendous gap. The information that I get from the programers implies that every time they send a film up for review by the broadcasters the broadcasters send it back and say there is not enough action in it.

Talk to the broadcast people and they say they keep writing letters back to the programers saying there is too much action.

So I sit here and wonder, Who is telling the truth?

Do you have any files or letters which would indicate that you have written to the programers to cut back on violence on some of the programs that they have sent up to you? I was wondering if anybody actually has documentation.

Mr. Alfred Schneider. Mr. Russo, I think that, again you are in the problem of defining what action is and what is violence and what is being requested within a particular script.

Each of the Standards Departments send to each of the producers following the reading, a script report which asks for the elimination of certain acts of violence or certain portrayals that may be contained in a script. There is a give and take that goes back and forth between the production community and the production department and the Standards and Practices Department in terms of how that gets related from the script stage to execution.

Mr. RUSSO. The reason I say that, I would like to see for myself, I would like to see something that shows me that the network people are actually telling the programers to cut back.

If it has been happening, you ought to be able to look in your files on a particular program and say, OK, we have asked them several times to cut back on action.

Mr. PIERCE. Congressman, if I may, I made some statements in my prepared remarks here about the diversification and balance within our schedule and that we are diminishing and we will continue to diminish forms which lend themselves to incidents of violence.

And since the program department reports—at our place the entertainment division reports directly to me. I have the final responsibility and they work under my directives.

Mr. RUSSO. I would like to see that, if it could be made available.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. I would be glad, when I go back to the office, to make available to you a typical program report that we make when we have either turned down a complete script because it was too violent or where we have taken out certain actions, or even have turned down a rough cut because it did not comply with our own directions.

I would be glad to do that.

Mr. RUSSO. Thank you. One other thing. Do each one of the networks have a code on violence or sex? If you do, I would like you to make it available for the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. We have such a code which we would be glad to make available.

Mr. RUSSO. CBS?

Mr. SAUTER. Mr. Congressman, indeed we do have correspondence with producers of broadcasts telling them that we do not want to air the scripts that they have submitted because they had too much violence.

You would also find in that correspondence that we do not act as censors. When we find scripts where we think there is excessive violence we try to make constructive suggestions as to how the creative goals can be achieved, while at the same time minimizing the degree of violence.

As I think I said when you were out of the room, we have reduced, in terms of first script submissions to what actually gets on the air, the amount of violence by 24 percent. Indeed, we have said we are not going to put some programs on the air unless the producer takes them back and takes out acts of violence.

Mr. RUSSO. Mr. Sauter, what I am saying is that I would like you to provide them for the record.

Mr. SAUTER. Indeed.

[Testimony resumes on p. 376.]

[The following material was received for the record:]

CBS TELEVISI N NETWORK
Program Pract ces, Hollywood

DATE December 2 , 1976

TO Quinn Martin Productions ATTN Mr. Philip Seltzman

RE BARNABY JONES "The Killer on Campus" (First Draft)

RECEIVED December 27, 1976

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2, Scene 7	Footage of the action showing Jeff as he "brings out a plastic credit card, with which he deftly "slips" the lock of the apartment door" should avoid being instructional.
Page 4, Scene 12 and later	Kemper's "dangling feet and lower legs" should be motionless.
Page 4, Scene 14 and later	Kemper's hanging body should be shown only in shadow.
Page 40, Scene 86	In Carson's second speech please change "erotic interludes" to "romantic interludes."

In the interest of reducing violence, please rework the following action:

Page 47, Scene 96	Roger jams a gun muzzle hard against Carson's ribs.
Page 52, Scene 107	Karen pushes Doris into the pool
Page 53, Scene 115	Roger shoves Carson.

Profanity should not exceed usages indicated in script:

Page 11, Scene 26	"go to hell" Karen
Page 33, Scene 68	"damned" Roger
Page 40, Scene 86	"What the hell" Carson

Throughout this production please avoid commercial identification, as in:

Page 13, Scene 33	Tape equipment
Page 17, Scenes 43, 44	Exterior and interior of campus bar

All character and business names should be fictitious, as in:

Page 44, Scene 93 and later	Angela Bryant, Thomas Ericson described as operating a "bomb factory" in Trenton.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Final approval is based on completed film.

cc: Messrs. Martin, Thompson, Sherman, Brockway, Ahern, Director, Ms. Leeds, Mr. Kirschner

By Carol Isaacs

Carol Isaacs

CI:lds

Nothing contained in this report shall affect CBS Television's rights [illegible] sponsor [illegible] its or their advertising agency or agencies to be [illegible] causes of action of third parties arising out of the broadcasting or other use of [illegible]

CBS TELEVISI N NETWORK
Program Pract :es, Hollywood

Date August 23, 1976

To Quinn Martin Productions Attn Mr. Philip Saltman

Re BARNABY JONES "The Killer on Campus"

Received August 16, 1976

The above synopsis is herewith approved, with the following comments:

Page 8	Filming of the action which shows "Roger assaulting Jeff with a judo-chop" should avoid being instructional or unduly vicious.
Page 11	Please avoid having Karen torture Doris while the latter is in the pool.

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Quinn Martin
Russell Stoneham
Robert Sherman
Richard Brockway
Fred Ahern
Director
Ms. Shirley Leeds
Mr. Dick Kirschner

CI:lds

We reserve the right to revoke our approval of the above copy based upon its development in the final script.

By Carol Isaacs
Carol Isaacs

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

Date January 17, 1977

To Universal Studios Attn Mr. Matthew Rapf

Re [illegible] "The [illegible]" [illegible] Revised script dated January 13, 1977

Received January 14, 1977

[illegible]

We note with great concern that a great deal of sensationalism and grotesque effects are associated with the series of ice pick murders which occur within this script. In order for this subject to be acceptable for broadcast, we must insist that the following changes and deletions be made:

Page 2, Scene 6	Please delete the "lifeless eyes staring back at them" which seems gratuitous in this context. Also, please delete the "Two air bubbles escape from the dead mouth" since it would tend to give the impression that the victim is not actually dead. The face should not be shocking.
Page 29, Scenes 43 - 44-B	As scripted, the killing of [illegible] is unacceptably shocking. [illegible] must not raise the ice pick over her head holding it with both hands. We would ask that you restage this action so that the ice pick is established briefly before she thrusts it toward his torso.
Page 32, Scene 51	Please delete [illegible]'s reference to "an ice pick in his brain (underlined only). We would suggest instead [illegible] saying "stuck an ice pick into [illegible]".
Page 39, Scene 66	As previously discussed, the reference to the ice pick having been driven "into the base of the victim's skull" (underlined only) will be changed to something like "and drove it into him".
Page 39, Scene 67	The several identical ice picks should not be unnecessarily featured or prolonged.

(Continued)

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

B.

[illegible]

Program Practices, Hollywood

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Program Practices, Hollywood

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[illegible]

For additional consideration:

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued)

[illegible]

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

Date December 3, 1975

To Lorimar Productions, Inc. Attn Mr. Joel Rogosin

Re THE BLUE KNIGHT "Two To Make Deadly" (Revised Draft)

Received December 1, 1975

The above script is hereby approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

The main violence points were discussed with Mr. Rogosin and they are being taken into consideration.

Page 1, Scene 4	All opening titles and credits must be completed prior to any menace to "Pusher."
Page 8, Scene 42	Please do not have Gilmore ram his gun into Willie's ribs.
Page 17, Scene 47	Please delete "scumbag" from Gilmore's speech.
Page 29, Scene 80	Please be sure there are no nude or graphic photos on the Burlesque Theatre posters.
Pages 31, 32, Scenes 88-93	This type of game could appeal to some viewers, perhaps tantalizing their attempting Russian Roulette. We suggest if possible Bill and Ray play cards, the winning hand chooses the next victim.
Page 42, Scene 113	Please delete the coroner's last line: "...tongue severed at base."
Page 43, Scene 114	Please delete the coroner's last line: "His tongue was cut out."
Page 54, Scene 143	Please be sure no nude or graphic pictures are in evidence.
Page 60, Scene 158	If lyrics are heard, please be sure they are acceptable for broadcast.
Page 67, Scene 172	Please do not have Gilmore "fondle the shotgun" to avoid showing fascination with weapons.
Pages 72, 73, Scenes [illegible]	No LAPD officers use double barrel shotguns, only single. Please be sure the weapon Gilmore and other officers carry are singles and Bumper will only shoot from such a gun.
	We do not approve slow-mo used in this manner as it merely accentuates the violence. We would suggest possibly both

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

(Continued)

By

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE

TO ATTN

RE THE BLUE KNIGHT "Two To Make Deadly" - Page 2 -

RECEIVED

[illegible]

could run for the terrace - cut to Bumper getting off a shot - back to Milt having received the hit starting over the rail -- Bumper, the police start to terrace, then cut to ground, Milt's body in the garden.

Please be sure the following are fictitious:

Page 3, Scene 9A	522 South Main
Page 13, Scene 46	Around Freight Yard 1215 Westmoreland
Page 15, Scene 52	112 East Sixth Street
Page 24, Scene 71	Barlow Hotel
Page 45, Scene 115	Pool Parlor
Page 53, Scene 140	Blue Dolphin Cocktail Lounge

Please be sure there is no commercial identification on the following:

Page 33, Scene 75	Beer cans
Page 53, Scene 140	Wine bottle, match book
Page 55, Scene 146	Shops, business establishments

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Lee Rich
Phil Capice
Irv Pearlberg
Burgess Groves
Bill Mollen
Tom Moore
Guy Cunneff
Dick Kirschner

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By

Dori Weissenberger

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE October 25, 1976

TO Lorimar Productions ATTN Mr. Chris Morgan

RE HUNTER "The Hush-Up" or "The Nights Are Cold and The Good Die Young"
1st Draft dated 8/23/76

RECEIVED October 21, 1976

Revised pages for the above script are herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

As noted in our report of September 21, 1976, violence within this script was considered excessive. At that time, we requested that the six incidents of violence within this property be reduced by half.

The Revised Pages, dated 10/20/76, do not reflect any reduction in violence. This property therefore must still be considered excessively violent and as currently written must be considered unacceptable for broadcast.

You may refer to our earlier notes for a list of the violent incidents and our suggested changes or deletions.

For additional consideration:

Page 4, Scene 8	As mentioned earlier, the driver's "Son of a —" must be changed or deleted.
Page 4, Scenes 9 & 10	The violence associated with the ambush of MITCHELL's cab is excessive and must be reduced in intensity. We would ask for a short fire fight. Bodily reactions to being hit and the potentially grizzly aspects of the ambush should be minimized. We seriously question the necessity to have three people in the back seat of the cab. We should not see the impact of the bullets into the cab's rear window (which kills the three people in the rear seat). Bodies should not be shocking, or unnecessarily featured. Please avoid open staring eyes or contorted facial features. Bloody make-up should not be excessive.

(CONTINUED)

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By ____________________

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE:

TO ATTN:

RE HUNTER "The Back-Up" or "The Nights Are Cold and The Good Die Young"

RECEIVED

Revised pages for the above script are herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2.

Page 33, Scene 58 ✓ Please have QUAN's eyes closed as he is seen on the autopsy table.

Please continue to refer to our earlier report regarding JAKE's body; the character of the MALE LIBRARIAN; QUAN's autopsy; the art work for the Kelsey Clinic; HUNTER's action of pushing people on the Clinic's stairs; and use of the phone number 846-3212.

The use of "hells" and "damns" is still considered excessive and their usage must be drastically reduced. We note the following:

Page 2, Scene 3	✓ MITCHELL: "We're pretty damn..."
Page 6, Scene 16	✓ MAITLAND: "...sure as hell..."
	✓ "...always a damn shame..."
Page 11, Scene 20	✓ MAITLAND: "...I'm damned glad..."
Page 12B, Scene 20X	✓ CHINESE MAN: "Dammit..."
Page 14, Scene 24	✓ PEG: "The hell with..."
Page 15, Scene 24	✓ PEG: "...is one hell of a ..."
Page 16, Scene 26	✓ PEG: "...dammit..."
Page 17, Scene 26	✓ PEG: "...what the hell..."
Page 29A, Scene 49B	✓ PEG: "...give one damn..."
Page 54, Scene 99	MAITLAND: "...there was a damn..."

All character and business names should be fictitious.

Commercial identification should be avoided and/or minimized throughout.

Your cooperation is appreciated.

cc: Lee Rich
Phil Capice
Peter Dunne
David Shaw
Neil Maffeo
Tony Barr
Dick Kirschner

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By J R Baerg
James R. Baerg

JRB:mm

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: September 21, 1976

TO: Lorimar Productions, Inc. ATTN: Mr. Chris Morgan

RE: HUNTER "The Backup" or "The Nights Are Cold and the Good Die Young" (1st Dr)

RECEIVED: August 27, 1976

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

The amount of violence within this script is excessive. The incidents listed below must be reduced by half.

1. Page 4	The car carrying Yeng is ambushed resulting in four fatalities and Yeng being seriously wounded.
2. Page 20	Three gunmen shoot at Hunter, Peg and Jake with Jake being killed.
3. Page 32	Quan stands rigid as the elevator door opens, then sprawls forward. ("He's dead, shot in the back").
4. Pages 39-40	Hunter is pursued by a man who fired shots at him with a silencer-equipped gun.
5. Page 47	Hunter subdues the Orderly with several judo chops and then a short struggle.
6. Page 55	Hunter knocks Peg to the ground and slugs Maitland.

We would suggest the following changes:

Page 32	Quan should be found dead on the floor of the elevator rather than being seen sprawling forward as the doors open.
Pages 39-40	Hunter could be chased by the man with the silencer-equipped gun, who is unable to get a clear shot at him due to pedestrians, traffic, etc.
Page 47	The business with the Orderly could be deleted, since it does not seem essential to the story.

For additional consideration:

Page 1, Scene 1 —	Commercial identification should be avoided on the landing jetliner. We would suggest using an angle from below the plane or a plane photographed from a distance which avoids

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

(Continued)

By ____________________

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE:

TO

ATTN:

RE HUNTER "The Backup" - Page 2 -

RECEIVED

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

	readable identification or recognizable logo.
Page 4, Scene 8	Please change or delete The Driver's "Son of a ---"
Page 4, Scenes 9-10	Caution is urged in staging this scene of the car being ambushed. We would recommend that the gunmen be shown firing several short bursts, the driver fighting for control and then crashing into the tree. The action of the three people being killed should not be sensationalized. The bodies should not be grotesque and bloody make-up should not be excessive.
Page 21, Scene 40	Jake's body should not be shocking. Please avoid grotesque effects, such as open staring eyes, contorted facial features, etc. Bloody make-up should not be excessive.
Page 26, Scene 46	The character of the Male Librarian should be handled with care. It would seem unnecessary for him to react with "prissy outrage" during his conversation with Hunter.
Pages 33-36, Scenes 58-60	Quan's dead face should not be shocking. Care should be exercised in portraying the actions of the Medical Examiner and his assistant as they prepare to begin the autopsy. We question the necessity of seeing their silhouettes as they perform the autopsy.
Page 41, Scene 71	The art work for the Kelsey Clinic (silhouettes of ...breast jobs, etc.) should be acceptable for broadcast.
Page 51, Scene 94	Hunter should not send the people on the stairs "sprawling", but should simply push them aside as he runs down the stairs.
Page 55, Scene 99	The phone number 846-3212 must be fictitious and/or cleared for the entire U.S. since the exact location of this episode doesn't seem to have been specified.

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

(Continued)

By

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: ______

TO ______ ATTN: ______

RE HUNTER "The Backup" - Page 3 -

RECEIVED ______

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

The use of "hells" and "damns" is considered excessive and their use must be substantially reduced. We note the following:

Page 2, Scene 3	Mitchell: "We're pretty damn..."
Page 8, Scene 16	Maitland: "...they sure as hell..." "...always a damn shame..."
Page 11, Scene 20	Maitland: "I'm so damned glad..."
Page 14, Scene 24	Peg: "The hell with..."
Page 15, Scene 24	Peg: "...one hell of a..."
Page 16, Scene 26	Peg: "Dammit..."
Page 17, Scene 26	Peg: "Well, what the hell..."
Page 54, Scene 99	Maitland: "...was a damn good..."

All character and business names should be fictitious, including:

Page 41, Scene 74	Kelsey Clinic

Commercial identification should be avoided and/or minimized throughout, including:

Page 13, Scene 24	Scotch bottle
Page 29, Scene 51	Frozen dinners
Page 40, Scene 71	Cab

Your cooperation is appreciated.

cc: Lee Rich
Phil Capice
Peter Dunne
David Shaw
Tony Barr
Dick Kirschner

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

JRB:lds

By James R. Baerg

James R. Baerg

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE January 18, 1977

TO Quinn Martin Productions ATTN: Mr. Philip Saltzman

RE BARNABY JONES "Deadly Valentine" (First Draft)

RECEIVED January 14, 1977

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

As discussed today,

Page 9, Scene 14	Gowan's first speech will be reworked to avoid specifying the number of stab wounds.
Page 42, Scene 71	Footage of Barnaby as he "picks the lock" should avoid being instructional.
Page 43, Scene 81	In the interest of reducing violence, Wilson will not "swing at J.R."

Througnout this production, all business and character names should be fictitious. Please avoid commercial identification.

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Quinn Martin
Frank Thompson
Robert Sherman
Richard Brockway
Fred Ahern
Director
Ms. Shirley Leeds
Mr. Dick Kirschner

CI:lds

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By
Carol Isaacs

Nothing contained in this report shall affect CBS Television's rights, if any, [illegible] the [illegible], its sponsors, or its or their advertising agency or agencies, to be indemnified against the claims, demands or causes of action of third parties arising out of the broadcasting or other use of material referred to herein.

CBS TELEVISI 'N NETWORK
Program Practi:es, Hollywood

DATE December 17, 1976

TO Quinn Martin Productions ATTN Mr. Philip Saltman

RE BARNABY JONES "The Deadly Valentine"

RECEIVED December 17, 1976

The above synopsis is herewith approved, with the following comments:

The incident on page 15, as discussed today, will be accomplished in a non-violent manner.

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Quinn Martin
Frank Thompson
Robert Sherman
Fred Ahern
Director
Ms Shirley Leeds
Mr Dick Kirschner

We reserve the right to review our approval of the basic story line based upon its development in the final script.

By Carol Isaacs
Carol Isaacs

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE December [illegible], 1975

TO Quinn Martin Productions ATTN Mr. Philip Saltman

RE BARNABY JONES "The Deadly Valentine"

RECEIVED December [illegible], 1975

[illegible]

As discussed, the proposed level of violence is unacceptable.

cc: Messrs. Quinn Martin
Frank Thompson
Robert Sherman
Richard Bresnahan
Fred Ahern
Director
Ms. Shirley Lewis
Mr. Dick Kirschner

CJ:fds

[illegible]

Carol Dunas

Carol Dunas

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: April [illegible]

TO: [illegible] ATTN: [illegible]

RE: [illegible]

RECEIVED: April [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

OK Please delete the action of [illegible]

[illegible]

Page [illegible], Scene [illegible] Please delete the action of [illegible]

OK

Page [illegible], Scene [illegible] [illegible]

Page [illegible], Scene [illegible] Please change [illegible]

OK

Page [illegible], Scene [illegible] [illegible]

OK

[illegible]

(CONTINUED)

[illegible]

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

[illegible]

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

Date June 10, 1975

To Quinn Martin Productions Attn Mr. Philip Saltman

Re BARNABY JONES "Testament of Power"

Received June 3, 1975

The above program is hereby approved with the following comments:

Pages 9 & 10	As discussed, the Phillips/J.R. encounter will be handled without violence.
Page 11	When Porter grabs Linda, violence will be avoided.
Page 20	When J. R. grabs Thelma, violence will be avoided.

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Quinn Martin
Russell Stoneham
Robert Sherman
Richard Bracken
Fred Mears
Director
Ms. Shirley Leeds
Mr. Stan Hirschman

[illegible]

[illegible]

Donald Wood

[illegible]

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

Date June 25, 1976

To Universal Studios Attn: Mr. Matthew Rapf

Re KOJAK "A Summer Madness" (#[illegible]) Script dated June 10, 1976

Received June 11, 1976

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 11, Scene 17	A wardrobe caution is indicated for GRETCHEN.
Page 17, Scene 30	Please exercise care in the action with CAESAR and GRETCHEN, playing as scripted.
Page 20, Scene 38	Please eliminate the business of blocking the exit door with the trash can. We would prefer to avoid the use of this possibly instructive device in a "bombing" situation.
Page 25, Scene 54	It is requested that STAVROS' line "Anybody can make them" (Molotov cocktails) be deleted, again to avoid any unnecessary suggestion.
Page 27, Scene 55	Please delete the word "stud" in McNEIL's second speech.
Page 33, Scene 60	Please verify clearance for the license number used (BRADDOCK's first speech).
Page 44, Scene 77	Please keep the action between BRADDOCK and DAVY JOHNSON to a minor struggle, preferably without the business of BRADDOCK forcing the youth to the floor.
Page 50, Scene 93	It is requested that the marijuana business be minimal, so that CAESAR is distracted before the point indicated in the script.
Page 51, Scene 94	Please do not have BRADDOCK point the gun directly at CAESAR's head.
Page 52, Scene 95	Please eliminate the action of CAESAR trying to drive his knee into BRADDOCK's groin.

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

(Continued)

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE:

TO: ATTN:

RE: KOJAK "A Summer Madness" #4819

RECEIVED:

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2

Page 63, Scene 118	It is requested that the gun be established without MOLLY's picking it up, so that the subsequent killing is not telegraphed.

Please reduce the following usages to the minimum necessary:

Page 7, Scene 7	BRADDOCK (first speech): "...hell" KOJAK (second speech): "...hell"
Page 32, Scene 60	BRADDOCK (first speech): "...hell"
Page 36, Scene 62	McNEIL (first speech): "...hell"
Page 51, Scene 94	CAESAR (last speech): "...hell"
Page 53, Scene 99	KOJAK (first speech): "...hell"
Page 54, Scene 102	KOJAK (last speech): "...hell"
Page 59, Scene 111	KOJAK (second speech): "...hell"

Please avoid commercial identification throughout the production, as in:

Page 1, Scenes 3 and 4	Refrigerator; beer, club soda, gin
Page 3, Scene 5A	TV set
Page 10, Scene 15	Ice-cream truck
Page 12, Scene 19	Hi-fi equipment, portable bar
Page 18, Scene 32 & Pages 19 and 20, Scene 34	Cabs
Page 27, Scene 55	TV cameraman (call letters)
Page 31, Scene 60	Whiskey bottle
Page 35, Scene 61	Vodka bottle
Page 60, Scene 114	Gin bottle

Please ensure that names (Tri-State Warehouse; Rumpelstiltskin's) and addresses (Page 33, Scene 60; Page 42, Scene 72) used throughout are fictitious.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

cc: Jim McAdams — Ellis Marcus
Director — Dick Kirschner
Chester Krumholz
John [illegible]
Jack Laird

Gil

Gil Steele

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

F

DATE: November 8, 1976

TO Leonard Freeman Productions ATTN. MR. PHILIP LEACOCK

RE HAWAII FIVE-O "Double Exposure"

VIEWED 11/8/76

The above film is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Where Danny is hit on the head while talking to McGarrett on the phone, please delete the audio "thud".

Where Anne and Vincent are in the room and Vincent is trying to put the make on her, please delete the unscripted business of her throwing him against the wall.

Where Tolford is dropped by a karate chop before Weston is killed, either delete Tolford being hit or tighten this up with the death of Weston.

Thank you.

cc: Curtis Kenyon
James Heinz
Herman Groves
Doug Green
Shirley Leeds
Dick Kirschner

RdeM:lt

By
RICHARD de MICHELE

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: September 28, 1976

TO: Leonard Freeman Productions ATTN: Mr. Philip Leacock

RE: HAWAII FIVE-O "Double Exposure" #0617 Final draft script dated September 24, 1976

RECEIVED: September 27, 1976

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

As discussed with Herman Groves, to reduce the overall violence of this script, we must delete either the killing of Leali on Page 2, the killing of Danny on Page 25, or the hitting over the head of Danny on Page 26.

Pages 1 & 2, Scenes 1-5	As discussed with Herman Groves, this is not acceptable. We don't want to have a man dragged behind a car with his hands locked in the power window.
Page 9, Scene 28	Please be sure these photographs are acceptable for broadcast.
Page 31, Scene 73	As discussed with Herman Groves, we don't want Anne being forced to run in front of the oncoming car because she is being chased.
Page 35, Scene 91	Where the ambulance is brought to a halt, please be sure that it is clear that there is no intention to harm Anne or the ambulance attendants.
Pages 49 & 50, Scenes 115-123	To avoid an excessive number of violent incidents, please lump all this action together.

Please avoid or minimize commercial identification throughout, including:

Page 2	Receiving dock
Page 24	Watch

Thank you.

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

cc: Curtis Kenyon
James Heinz
Herman Groves
Doug Green
Shirley Leeds
Dick Kirschner

By ______________________
Rick de Michele

RDM:dl

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: November 4, 1976

TO: Universal Studios ATTN: Mr. Matthew Rapf

RE: KOJAK "I Was Happy Where I Was" #44801 Script dated October 25, 1976

RECEIVED: October 28, 1976

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 9, Scene 15	It is requested that the phrase "...dump on 'em" (KOJAK's second speech) be revised.
Page 18, Scene 32	Care is indicated in showing the enforcer's corpse.
Page 19, Scenes 33 & 34	Detail in Medical Examiner BAGLEY's description of the deceased appears excessive; reduction is requested.
Page 27, Scene 48	Please revise KOJAK's line "You been on the teat too long..."
Page 34, Scene 57	Please delete "Bet your ass!" in CARLOS' second speech.
Page 40, Scene 65	Please delete the word "greaseball" in DRISCOLL's speech. Please rewrite action so that we do not have another violent incident, eliminating the business of ALVAREZ hitting DRISCOLL. (If CARLOS threatens DRISCOLL with the gun, he should not hold it against his temple.)
Page 44, Scene 77	Please delete the reference to "Braille Institute" in CROCKER's speech.
Page 56, Scene 95	It is requested that the reference to "Golden Arches" be deleted.
Page 59, Scene 109	The license number used must be cleared.

(Continued)

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By ____________________

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE: ________________

TO ________________ ATTN: ________________

RE KOJAK "I Was Happy Where I Was" #44801

RECEIVED ________________

The above script is herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2

Pages 60 & 61, Scenes 111-122	Please revise the concluding action, which is excessively violent as scripted. We are asking that you eliminate the business of RUDY hurling the boiling water into MONK's face. In addition, please keep gunfire minimal, and avoid impact effects ("slammed backward", "crumbling") as GREGORIO and CARLOS are hit.

Please reduce the following usages where possible:

Page 4, Scene 11	KOJAK (first speech): "...damn"
Page 29, Scene 50	KOJAK (last speech): "...helluva"
Page 48, Scene 82	KOJAK (second speech): "...damn"
Page 54, Scene 92	KOJAK (first speech): "...hell"

Please ensure that all names used ("Three Trees", "Tiny's") are fictitious.

Please avoid commercial identification throughout the production, as in the cafe (Page 59, Scenes 108-110).

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Jim McAdams
Director
Chester Krumholz
John David
Jack Laird
Ellis Marcus
Dick Kirschner

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By ________________
Gil Steele

GS:dl

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE Novem

TO Universal Studios ATTN Mr. Matthew R

RE KOJAK "I Was Happy Where I Was" #44838 Revised script dated November 12, 1976

RECEIVED November 15, 1976

Revised pages for the above script are herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2, Scene 12-A	Please exercise care in the shot of the dead KELBO, avoiding grotesque effect.
Page 3, Scene 12-C	The word "scumbag" (KOJAK's first speech) is not acceptable.
Page 10, Scene 17	It is understood that the business of KINKAID throwing ALVAREZ across the room will be eliminated, so that we do not have a violent incident.
Page 11, Scene 19	Please play this scene without violent contact, eliminating the business of KINKAID slapping PACO across the face.
Page 15, Scene 22	Please supply the meaning of the word "gallinazo", as discussed.
Page 18, Scene 32	Please exercise care in the shot of the dead KINKAID.
Page 33, Scene 57	It is understood that the expression "Bet your buns" (CARLOS' second speech) will be cut.
Page 39, Scene 66	Please delete the word "pic" in DRISCOLL's speech.
Page 54, Scene 95	It is requested that the reference to "Golden Arches" in ENRIQUE's speech be deleted.
Page 58, Scenes 119-199E	Please keep gunfire to the minimum necessary, avoiding impact effects as GREGORIO and ALVAREZ are hit.

(Continued)

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By

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CBS TELEVISION NETWORK
Program Practices, Hollywood

DATE ______________________

TO ______________________ ATTN ______________________

RE KOJAK "I Was Happy Where I Was" ([illegible])

RECEIVED ______________________

Revised pages for the above script are herewith approved for presentation on the CBS Television Network, with the following exceptions:

Page 2

Please reduce the following usages wherever possible:

Page 3, Scene 12-C	KOJAK (first speech): "...damn"
Page 9, Scene 17	ALVAREZ (last speech): "...hell"
Page 17, Scene 30-D	KOJAK's VOICE (second speech): "...hell"
Page 46, Scene 82	KOJAK (last speech): "...damn"
Page 52, Scene 92	KOJAK: "...hell"
Page 54, Scene 97	KOJAK: "...hell"

Thank you for your cooperation.

cc: Messrs. Jim McAdams
Director
Chester Krumholz
John David
Jack Laird
Ellis Marcus
Dick Kirschner

Please submit revised pages for approval.
Final approval is based on completed film.

By Gil Steele (dl)
Gil Steele

GS:dl

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Mr. RUSSO. I also have this network where it states there are 3 programs out of the top 31, that could be considered violent. If I go back to Dr. Gerbner's definition of violence, and of course, I have a little problem with his definition—I am not trying to pick on the doctor, but if I were to take his definition literally there are a lot of programs on there that you did not mark.

For example, I have seen Monday Night Movies on NBC where there is a lot of violence; a lot of pushing; a lot of shoving; a lot of hitting. "Bionic Woman," I do not consider it an overly sexy program but there is some violence.

"Six Million Dollar Man," which is my son's favorite program, and I do not think is that violent, I understand it is considered one of the programs that has tremendous amounts of violence, and yet I would not stop my son from watching it.

ABC's Sunday Night Movie, "Rich Man, Poor Man" has some violence. If you have ever watched Eddie you can tell there is some violence in "Rich Man, Poor Man."

ABC Sunday Night Movie, Sunday Mystery Movie, there is violence. You did not mention any of those.

And of course, the greatest violence of all is NFL Monday Night Football. That is outright mayhem on TV. That ought to be listed as violence under those particular definitions.

I imagine we could make a case for violence almost anywhere. The point I am trying to make, and I think that as Mr. Gerbner had indicated earlier, a good solution might be to get together and try to work out something; probably in the best interests of everybody.

Mr. Pierce, you talked about some studies that were done on page 10 of your statement. I was wondering if you could make those studies available for us.

Mr. PIERCE. I would be delighted to.

Mr. RUSSO. I have one more question. It is probably more like a statement; I feel as if I am on a soap box, but I have spent a lot of time in juvenile court as a prosecutor, over 16 months, prosecuting all violent crimes by criminals in the Cook County area ranging from rape all the way to murder. You name it; we did it all.

I think one of the things that probably is missed by the whole violence question occurs when you talk about the increase of juvenile violence, which is up 209 percent since 1972. In juvenile courts they are now demanding more due process and more protections of the 14th amendment, which is making the prosecution of juveniles much, much more difficult, and in effect the courts are not in essence doing the things that they ought to be doing in the area of juvenile court because they are restricted by the Supreme Court decisions in the *Kent* case and a few others.

What I am saying is that children today are well aware of what goes on in juvenile court knowing specifically that under the *Kent* case there is what is known as the one-free-murder rule, where if you have never been involved in juvenile court proceedings in your life you cannot be transferred to adult jurisdiction to be prosecuted under that particular law because you have not been through the rehabilitative process of the juvenile court system.

These individuals are very street wise, they know what they can get away with and now that a lot of the defendants' attorneys are demanding jury trials and other kinds of dilatory tactics in juvenile court, it just gets to be a problem in meting out the type of punishment or rehabilitative process that is required for juveniles.

That is makes it all the more important for television in terms of the program shown because of the relaxation of the criminal laws. I speak from experience, believe me, when I tell you.

So I am glad to hear that you are cutting back on violence although I would say, Mr. Pierce, that your statement contradicts Dr. Gerbner's.

So I guess we are going to have to continue to struggle with this question. Hopefully the networks and everybody else, the programers, will get together.

How is that for a speech?

Mr. Van Deerlin. Well, it's over.

Mr. Markey.

Mr. Markey. Can I ask Mr. Pierce—I guess I am somewhat confused after Mr. Wirth's questioning about the degree to which the three networks concur with the scientific studies that there is a very real and direct inter-relationship between violence on television and subsequent violent acts on the one hand and the desensitizing of young people and their lack of emotional ability, to respond properly to a violent act when they see it occur in real life.

I was just wondering whether or not you agree, indeed, that these studies are conclusive enough—although not in an empirical sense that you can say it definitively, but enough in your own mind that you could agree that there is a very real problem there and that there is a causal connection between violence on television and subsequent violent acts in society.

Mr. Pierce. Congressman, did you direct that to me?

Mr. Markey. Yes.

Mr. Pierce. I think we have demonstrated enough concern about the subject matter by changing the nature and kinds of programing we present, particularly when children are a significant part of the audience. I think where we have an honest difference of opinion as to what the definition is of violence as measured by many of the social scientists.

I think all you have to do is look at Congressman Russo's comments about what is in the family hour——

Mr. Markey. Well, I concur with you——

Mr. Pierce. That is part of the difference of opinion.

Mr. Markey. The programing could be changed for any number of reasons including perhaps the commercial feasibility of redirecting your energies into other aspects of entertainment so that you win the competition, the ratings war.

In 1973, in my home town of Boston, after there was a scene on television of the dousing and burning of a derelict with gasoline, the next day six young people did the same thing to a woman in the city of Boston. Experts said there was a direct relationship. A few years ago there was an airplane hijacking that was based on a TV script that Rod Serling publicly apologized for.

I think, you know, there is something in the law that is called *res ipsa loquitur*, the thing speaks for itself, you do not need experts.

you do not need scientific studies. It happened. Any average citizen could look at the facts and come to the same conclusions. There is a relationship.

What I would like to hear is not that you have changed your programs, not that you have become more sensitive, but only that you admit that there is that type of causal connection and that it does indeed exist.

Mr. Alfred Schneider. Congressman Markey, may I respond to that?

Mr. Markey. Surely.

Mr. Alfred Schneider. If you would look at a paper that was delivered by Dr. Kaplan and Dr. Singer at the PTA meeting in Los Angeles in which he surveyed 100 scientific studies. You are dealing with the question of causation, and as a lawyer you would know that the difference between a causal scientific connection between cause and effect—which I think the only question that is being raised here is whether or not laboratory experiments and laboratory measurement studies are sufficient to draw that conclusion as distinguished from the very real concern that has been evidenced by the gentlemen at this table in terms of the influence of what has been seen and what the impact may be on children in terms of increased aggression, fantasy and play and thought has led them to make certain changes.

Those are the distinctions that I think are being made. One, I do not think Mr. Pierce can agree to any causal connection to any scientific certainty, but I think he can agree with you, as he is trying to say, is that he has heard you loud and clear and there are changes that have been taking place over a number of years in terms of trying to reach what is a responsible position in terms of the question you raised.

Mr. Markey. So he would agree that there is—as much as there is a connection between Joe DiMaggio as Mr. Coffee saying drink this particular brand, I say that would it not logically follow that the same type of response is being elicited from the same types of people who are watching the program that Joe DiMaggio is——

Mr. Alfred Schneider. Well, you can draw certain conclusions that you may wish to draw in terms of what you see, but as I recall in that case in Boston, there was never evidence introduced in any court showing that they did, in fact, see that program.

The movie you referred to was produced with the cooperation of the Boston Police Department and had been shown many years before that in Boston. So there are lots of questions on both sides.

I am not saying that we would deny that there may be something to be concerned about——

Mr. Markey. I could read the next 64 examples.

What I am saying is that I am trying to give two of the more obvious instances.

I guess what we would like to hear, as Mr. Wirth said, is that we admit that it does exist, and I do not understand why there is a reluctance to admit that that type of causal connection does exist. Why do we just have to deal in the periphery of the issue, and what you are doing to alleviate it.

Mr. Alfred Schneider. In the 5-year studies which we will make available to the committee and which you can read, there is clearly no increase in aggressive motivation; perhaps in aggressive play and fantasy, but even with those people who are predisposed to crime, their motivation for causing the crime does not necessarily relate to television.

We are in a very difficult and complex area of definitions. It is the same reason why Dr. Gerbner could not make that correlation between statistics which are purely fact and numbers and effect.

I think that what you are asking us to do we agree to a causal relationship scientifically and that is where our concern lies. Not the fact that we ought to be worried about what percent.

Mr. MARKEY. I guess generally that is what I am worried about, because I would like to see that you also are concerned. Because the indications that I see from your testimony is that you will take credit for creative children's programs, that you will take credit for bringing in the types of creative people that will make those programs, but that no one wants to take credit for the violence on television. No one wants to take credit for the 18,000 murders that young people see.

On that issue you want to pass the buck and for some reason it's the parents who have to monitor their children's television viewing.

Could I ask the gentleman from CBS, is that not a legitimate concern of Westinghouse, though, that they do not have enough time to get their programming in TV Guide?

If they are only given 3 or 4 days to look at the program, then any substitute program is obviously going to be at a competitive disadvantage since they have not had enough time to advertise it.

Ms. [illegible]. Mr. Markey, I spoke to the Westinghouse 28-day issue and I am from CBS and I did not want to have Mr. Howard burdened with my testimony.

Yes, it is a problem for Westinghouse and it is a problem for the networks and it is a problem that we are addressing now and for which we have been unsuccessful in finding a solution.

We are, once again, going to try to get early delivery next September but I cannot sit here and promise that we are going to do so. The process is not totally in our control.

We want to get the programs. We want to get them early, too.

Mr. MARKEY. Then why can't you?

Ms. [illegible]. Because the writers and producers are late in delivering them. Because when they sit down with the blank page in the typewriter, the muse is not always fulfilling for them.

Mr. MARKEY. They can make it for the showing deadline, though, and I do not understand why something that is euphemistically called a natural oligopoly cannot apply pressure upon the producers to require that they meet a deadline which is artificially scheduled 4 weeks earlier.

Ms. [illegible]. Mr. Markey, if I could mandate that every comedy would be funny, I would do so.

Mr. MARKEY. I did not ask you to do that. I asked you only that it be produced and ready for prescreening a month beforehand, not that it be funny and not that it be a [illegible]——

Ms. [illegible]. I know, but what I am saying is that there is a limit to the number of [illegible] you can get out of the creative process. We would like to mandate that the pilots be funny and we would like to mention a number of other things, but we are not always successful in doing so.

There is another hazard, and that is in certain programs where your license is attempting to be renewed, the program would have to be made 6 months before air. If we were to take delivery on it 30 days before air, because it would take approximately a month to complete it, and perhaps it would be written even another month before that.

The topicality would go out of a great deal of humor.

Mr. [illegible]. I agree with that, but that is a very limited portion of your programming.

Mr. [illegible] [illegible]. Well, it is 9 hours for us, 9 hours of prime time.

Mr. [illegible]. I did not——

Mr. [illegible] [illegible]. I would say the same for "[illegible] [illegible]"; I would say the same thing with "[illegible] [illegible]," as now it's one up to 9 hours of our schedule.

I would not like to hear what Mr. [illegible] would say about delivering Johnny Carson 30 days in advance. It is just not that simple.

Mr. [illegible]. It is not that simple. I agree with you, for the [illegible] make or for the Johnny Carson Show, but it would not be quite a difficult thing for the three networks to make it a standard policy in the industry that those people who are writing, creating, directing, producing, meet a schedule which comes within a 6-month period before the time that it is going to go on the air. If they do not meet this timetable then they are not going to be able to get their program on the air and it will be delayed until there is a 6-month prescreening period.

Mr. [illegible] [illegible]. I am sorry, it does not work that way. If it is not delivered I cannot go black for a night. I mean, the public really expects that program that Tuesday night at 9 o'clock.

Mr. [illegible]. I am wondering whether the public accepts what precedence or what they take precedence in your mind?

Mr. [illegible] [illegible]. I think we have decided this is not a crisis in broadcasting, and I do not see it as a crisis in broadcasting. I do not think the public has been ill served by our conduct to date, and we have said that we are trying to make it better.

Mr. [illegible]. That is what I am afraid of.

Thank you, sir.

Mr. [illegible] [illegible]. Mr. [illegible]?

Mr. [illegible]. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to briefly pursue the issue of causality. How did we leave Mr. [illegible]'s questioning, with an agreement from all three networks that there is no causality?

This was the conclusion that was established by both Mr. [illegible] and Mr. [illegible], is that correct?

Mr. [illegible]. I said, Congressman [illegible], that we did not have any scientific definitive evidence of that, but we——

Mr. [illegible]. You are not sure.

Mr. [illegible]. We do have serious concern for the issue and have taken action to change programming where the younger viewers are involved, and we made statements about diminishing program types that contain incidents of violence on the air.

[illegible]

Mr. Gore. Is it fair to say that all three of you are making the statement that you are not sure whether there is causality?

Mr. John Schneider. That is CBS' position.

Mr. Howard. That is NBC's position.

Mr. Gore. Thank you.

You mentioned, Mr. Pierce, this issue in the context of young people. I have here an article from TV Guide of January 29, 1977, by a prisoner in Marquette Prison—Associate Editor John Weisman's name is on this article.

He said: "I talk to my fellow prisoners in the messhall, in the prison yard, in the factory and in my cell block and a surprising 9 out of 10 told me that they have actually learned new tricks and improved their criminal expertise by watching crime programs.

"Four out of 10 said that they have attempted specific crimes that they saw on television crime dramas."

If you all are not prepared to admit the validity of the scientific evidence concerning causality why is it then that you all seem to be concerned that there is too much violence on television?

Mr. Sauter. Does this relate, sir, to the article in TV Guide?

Mr. Gore. I was making the point that we were addressing this issue in context of young people and I think that the concern is broader than simply young people. You had an opportunity—I will give you an opportunity to comment on that aspect of the issue if you like, Mr. Sauter.

Mr. Sauter. I very much wish to comment on it, and I presume that you are quoting from an article written by Grant H. Hendrick about an article which appeared in TV Guide January 29 in which the article contends that people in this particular maximum security prison in Michigan were watching television and learning new crime tricks from it.

Mr. Gore. Correct.

Mr. Sauter. The author of that article wrote a letter to Mr. John Weisman, the associate editor of TV Guide magazine, and I will just read you the first paragraph, if I may and I think you should get the rest of it, because it makes very interesting reading. Again, it is from the author of the article to the editor of the publication.

> Dear John: I am denouncing certain parts of the crime and violence survey article published in the January 29 issue for the following reasons. One,

and I will just read this one

> After you changed my article and sent me a rough draft of what you intended to publish, I was displeased with the added emphasis upon inmates learning from crime shows while sitting in prison and your insertion concerning prisoners taking notes on crime in their cells.
>
> I voiced my displeasure on this, to you, by telephone in November, and you assured me that you'd "soften" the emphasis in that area. I believed you. But instead of "softening" the emphasis on crime study in prison, you, in fact, increased it * * * to the extent of making it false and greatly misleading.
>
> You not only broke your word to me, but you betrayed the trust of your 50 million readers.

Mr. Gore. Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I would like to insert the full text of the response that he is quoting from into the record. I was not aware of that response——

Mr. Sauter. Indeed, there is no way that you would have been. It goes on for about three pages, and it is a very damning document.

[The letter referred to follows:]

MARQUETTE, MICH., *Friday, January 28, 1977.*

Re: Crime & Violence Survey, Article in Jan. 29 Issue.
Mr. JOHN WEISMAN,
Associate Editor, TV GUIDE Magazine,
Radnor, Penn.

DEAR JOHN: I am denouncing certain parts of the Crime & Violence Survey Article published in the Jan. 29th issue, for the following reasons:

1. After you changed my article, and sent me a rough draft of what you intended to publish, I was displeased with the added emphasis upon inmates learnig from crime shows while sitting in prison, and your insertion concerning inmates taking notes on crime in their cells. I voiced my displeasure on this, to you, by telephone in November, and you assured me that you'd "soften" the emphasis in that area. I believed you. But instead of "softening" the emphasis on crime-study in prison, you in fact increased it * * * to the extent of making it false and greatly misleading.

The main reason for the survey, to begin with, was to find out what influence, if any, television had on my fellow cons, prior to coming to prison * * * and concerning crimes they had committed in the "free world" prior to coming to prison. The reason for the survey was not to determine the extent of influence television has on inmates who are already in prison.

2. Secondly, again concerning our conversation by phone in November, you went back on your word to me, by allowing the title & illustration that was used. I fully realize that you were under no commitment or obligation to use either the title or illustration that I provided. And further, I realize that publishers hold complete option on the ways & means of promoting their published material.

However, by illustrating a convict watching television in his cell, and titling it, "When Television Is A School For Criminals," you gave a false impression about the survey, and brought a lot of undue "heat" upon every inmate in America who is fortunate enough to have a television in his cell.

3. You deliberately inserted several comments, for sensationalism purposes * * * which I had deliberately omitted from my article, because they were not necessarily representative of the 208 men I interviewed. You plucked various notes from my survey book, which I had ignored in compiling the article, because they should have been ignored.

You had (have) a huge responsibility to 50 million people, to yourself, to me, and to the participants of the survey. You failed in this responsibility, by sacrificing truth for sensationalism.

4. You inserted numerous comments, made by one individual, and did so in such a way as to imply that these comments were typical of the 208. Edward provided a large volume of "colorful" & "startling" comments, which I knew better than to use * * * but you insisted upon using such, to give the over-all affect more "punch."

5. You completely eliminated the last three or four pages of my article * * * my entire conclusion, for two reasons. First, you needed the space to insert your own "colorful" pluckings, and secondly because my conclusion wasn't shocking or startling enough.

I do not deny your right to edit, but I do deny you the right to falsely slant an article or a survey, and thereby mislead your 50 million readers.

John, having researched my survey, you know as well as I do that the majority of men in here are not taking notes for future crimes, but rather watch TV simply for the purpose of entertainment. Only one or two men said they take notes, and that is far from the false impression you gave.

The damage has already been done, and I doubt that either of us can rectify it. However, I am denouncing the published article, for the reasons given herein, and wanted to advise you of the same.

Sincerely,

GRANT H. HENDRICK.

P.S. If you had at least published the percentage tables I provided, it would have helped to give a clearer picture. Television does not inspire or motivate much violence, yet that message was lost, by what you did to my piece.

Mr. GORE. Now, back to the question.

You do not concede the causality, yet you are all concerned that there is too much violence. If there is no causality or if you do not concede it, why are you concerned about it?

Mr. **Pierce.** I think we are concerned because, as I stated, we are responsive to the various publics and various audiences, and it is as simple as that.

Mr. **Howard.** I think in many conversations that we have had with stations—we have regional meetings that go on over a year—we are in constant communication with the viewers—it is an interesting fact that our mail, if you went between September 1976 through the end of January, we had 128,000 communications with people—this is in the form of phone calls, letters, and so forth.

Of all of that communication, there were—of 128,000, the total violence complaints were 1,000, and that comes down to .8 percent. But even with that, NBC again in talking, the dialogue with the people, with stations in particular, were concerned enough that in the 1977–78 season, our program is going in another direction.

Mr. **John Schneider.** I had spoken earlier, Mr. Gore, that while we do not concur on causality, as long as there is a possibility that there may be some, we embraced a course of action in 1972 following hearings not unlike this relating to the Surgeon General's Report, resulting in a reduction in our action-adventure programing and the amount of violence we have portrayed since that day.

Mr. **Gore.** Your position is, then, that there is a high probability of causality?

Mr. **John Schneider.** A possibility.

I think what you are finding here is that you may be getting a conditioned response from us. There is a whole history of definition of causality and millions of dollars were spent on social science research and we are not prepared, I am not prepared on behalf of my company to identify direct causality, but if there is a possibility we will act responsibly.

Mr. **Gore.** I think that is a very candid answer and I think it probably reflects the direction of the research in the area. The evidence is mounting up and the analogy made earlier to the tobacco industry may be very appropriate.

I am interested in salvaging this and improving this family viewing hour concept, if it is at all possible, and I take it that all three networks are also interested in the idea of working with parents to try to improve their expectations about what is going to be on a particular program during a particular hour.

Is that correct, that you are all interested in that?

Mr. **John Schneider.** Yes. We recommended family viewing to our colleagues in broadcasting and even though it has been struck down in court, we have not withdrawn our support of the concept.

Mr. **Howard.** As we stated earlier, NBC has in the 1 hour following—it's very important—8 o'clock in the eastern zone and 7 o'clock in the central time zone 1 hour of programing that will be acceptable for family viewing.

Mr. **Pierce.** Yes, Congressman, we reaffirmed, as I stated our confirmation of the principles of the family viewing hour and outside the family viewing hour where it is appropriate, we utilized and began the use of advisories.

Mr. **Gore**. Mr. Howard——

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Mr. Gore?

Mr. **Gore**. May I add one more question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. All right.

Mr. **Gore**. This relates to the family viewing hour.

One of the problems brought up with the family viewing hour is the assertion by many that the networks have not strictly abided by what they said they were going to abide by with the family viewing hour—and I do not mean the brevity of the time remaining will force me to single out one single network, but it is not necessarily because of your record, but Mr. Howard, "Baa, Baa Black Sheep" is a show I have never seen, but it is a show that is listed among the most violent programs by the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting. Yet, it is a show being broadcast during the family viewing hour. Why?

Mr. **Howard**. We do not consider it to be a violent program.

Mr. **Gore**. Thank you. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Van Deerlin**. Ms. Mikulski?

Ms. **Mikulski**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am glad to see the networks here. Really, deep down inside my question is, what did you think of the movie "Network?"

I want you to know I am not the Faye Dunaway of this committee. However, I would like to raise a question about women and television.

Dr. Gerbner in the text of his testimony, notes that the victimization rate is higher for women than that for men and that the killer/killed ratio is again higher for women.

I would like to know what your reaction is to the Gerbner view on this and, if you concur, what demonstrated, provable steps you could submit to this committee to change that situation?

Mr. **Traviesas**. Let me see if I can answer that. Of course, it is not easy to answer.

First of all, we still do not know, or have a clear cut idea, of what Dr. Gerbner's figures are on that issue, but perhaps in a broader sense, I would like to tell you——

Ms. **Mikulski**. Dr. Gerbner was not talking about Mary Poppins throwing a pie at Cinderella. He was talking about murder, he was talking about rape, he was talking about those types of victimization.

Mr. **Traviesas**. I honestly believe in the position I am in in reviewing with my staff that this is out of proportion, the reflection that is given by Dr. Gerbner. I do want to tell you, though, on a positive note, that when I go out to the west coast once a year and review with all the producers the areas of concern about such things as violence, sex, minority groups, top on my list is the reflection of women in the entertainment media and how they are treated.

It is a very serious discussion and there is a lot of dialogue on it, and we are concerned and we bring it to their attention, but I am not sure that I agree that numerically it is violence against them.

We have raised the consciousness of not only the producers, but the writers, on this and hopefully we——

Ms. **Mikulski**. Now, you say that you have a dialogue with your writers——

Mr. **Traviesas.** No, with the producers.

Ms. **Mikulski.** I find that a statement that has no meat on it. Could you give me an example of what the conversation would be, and what they say back to you?

Mr. **Traviesas.** I am not sure that you were here when I made my earlier statement.

Ms. **Mikulski.** I was here.

Mr. **Traviesas.** One of my concerns when I have these meetings—I do not meet with the writers. I meet with the producers. I wish I could meet with all the writers who contribute to all series on NBC, because I think, as I did with the writer of what we consider one of our fine shows, "Sybil," when I first met with the writer of that show, I had all kinds of problems.

I did not think it was possible for him to meet broadcasts standards. But when he understood my concerns and when I understood his creative concerns we came out with what I think was one of the finest shows on the air, in terms of that category of shows.

We meet with producers. I will tell them not only about this meeting and what has transpired, I will tell them about the concerns that I have learned from our PTA meetings. I will tell them about our own management concerns. I will tell them about specific shows including a show such as "Baa, Baa Black Sheep" and what we see in terms of problems within that show, and we give them an opportunity to tell us, right up front, what their problems are.

And this goes on with each show in a separate meeting so that it is not a combination—we do not mix a comedy with a dramatic show—and the problem is getting it down to the final person who writes the show. And some day, and I hope, and eventually this is going to happen, where all of us on the network will have more dialog with the writers of television, such as Mr. Rintels.

Ms. **Mikulski.** Did anybody else want to comment on my question?

Mr. **Alfred Schneider.** I think you deal with the problem of the treatment and portrayal of women on television and in our society. I wanted to ask Dr. Gerbner when I saw that, does he mean that I should have more men killed than women——

Ms. **Mikulski.** That is a good point.

Mr. **Alfred Schneider.** And I think he said, no, that is not what I am trying to get at. What he is trying to get at is not only with respect to the portrayal of women in the society as we portray it on television, but our minorities, blacks, Chicanos, gays, homosexuals—I mean if we started lining it up and said no to everybody you would have nothing on the air.

The problem is, I think, is the introduction of some of the positive aspects of the portrayal of women. Now whether you agree that "Charlie's Angel's" does that or not——

Ms. **Mikulski.** No, I do not.

Mr. **Alfred Schneider.** There is—I think what Mr. Traviesas is saying is that there is the serious intent in our meeting to raise the consciousness of the concerns that are being expressed here.

I do not think we can say, stop killing all of those women or shoot them with one bullet instead of two. I think the whole question of how women are perceived in society is one of the things we have to address ourselves a great deal more, and we are trying.

Ms. **Mikulski.** One of the areas, then, that arises is really about the Gerbner scale, and many of you have raised questions about that.

Mr. Wirth certainly discussed it with you. However, I did not hear a clear-cut commitment to say yes, we will work with Gerbner to develop some kind of scale, or, we are not going to work with Gerbner but we are going to develop our own violence scale or violence index.

Would you tell me, are you really going to call up Gerbner, network by network, and work with him; are you going to develop your own scales so that we would have a clear set of indexes that you are using?

Mr. **John Schneider.** Ms. Mikulski, we said earlier in response to Dr. Gerbner's suggestion that we all submit our findings, our details, our techniques, our analyses, to Dr. Boorstin, the national archivist, that we certainly would be most pleased to do that and we would be pleased to find out more of Dr. Gerbner's techniques than we already know.

Ms. **Mikulski.** I am not talking about just submitting your techniques. I am talking about a collaborative effort to come up with some kind of unified agreement on what a violence scale is.

Mr. **John Schneider.** Are you talking about a violence count or a violence index? That is part of our problem.

Dr. Gerbner's violence index, as I understand it, relates to things well beyond acts of violence. There is a certain value as to whether a primary character in a drama—the lead, if you will—is the subject of the violence or whether a secondary character is the subject of the violence. That, in network parlance, really does not matter.

I do not think we really care if there is a violent act to a secondary character or a primary character, whether it is a violent act to a man or a woman. It is a violent act.

That is the kind of tabulation we have been doing at CBS. Dr. Gerbner places different values to evolve a television index.

When we see that the television index has gone up, we do not know if it means that we have had more violence against secondary characters or whether, indeed, there has been more violence against primary characters. That is not important.

How many violent acts are we committing?

Ms. **Mikulski.** Here is my point. We all know what are the criteria, for example, in measuring the gross national product. We might not all agree on what the gross national product is, or something like the census, but we know how that is currently measured.

I would like to have a uniform violence index. You said "Baa, Baa Black Sheep" is not a violent show. Somebody else says cartoons are not. Somebody else says they are.

Unless we have a common set of definitions by which you then could apply certain self-tests or self-monitorings—unless we all have the same standard—we could go on like this for another 20 years. I am trying to see how we could come up with some uniform standards.

Mr. **John Schneider.** We would be pleased to participate with any other group in an honest, open, candid effort to try to define some common definition of what we mean as violence on television.

Mr. HOWARD. We would certainly like to look into it further, but on the Gerbner study we just do not know anywhere near enough information about it; before I would comment any further on that, we would have to go far more in depth. But surely we should have a dialog, and we would like to have a dialog, as far as NBC is concerned.

Mr. PIERCE. Congressman—Congresswoman, I am sorry—Congressperson, I am sorry——

Ms. MIKULSKI. No, woman.

Mr. PIERCE. I would just like to repeat what I had in my statement because we are all searching—there is always a tendency to reach for a numerical count and I think that we are dealing with an issue here that cannot necessarily be numerically measured.

As I said, the incidence cannot, unfortunately, be measured mechanically, but the qualitative aspects of the program, content, must also be taken into consideration in evaluating the portrayal of violence within context.

As I said, we are trying to develop such a system with our own research department and outside consultation and we would be delighted to have as much input and share our findings with anybody who would participate in this project together.

It is not a simple, quantitative measurement that we can all look at and reach for a magic number. That is a part of the problem that we are facing.

Ms. MIKULSKI. How would you see the mechanics being set up for us all to come to this common ground? Would you see some kind of neutral party—neutral, content-free evaluators like FCC helping come up with these standards?

Mr. ALFRED SCHNEIDER. We have worked with Dr. Pearl at the National Institute of Mental Health, and I think that was originally set up under the Surgeon General's report for a resource area for research documents. I think Jack Schneider was referring to submitting certain material to Dr. Bernstein?

Mr. JOHN SCHNEIDER. No, we are talking about Dr. Boorstin, the National Archivist. That was because Dr. Gerbner this morning had suggested that perhaps there would be some common repository for this information. That is really all terribly easy, a common repository is very simple. Make it this committee, if you will.

I am not recommending that, incidentally. A common repository is not the answer. We would be pleased to see all of his findings, however.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Well, that would be a beginning.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no further questions.

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Thank you.

Mr. Waxman?

Mr. WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have been sitting listening to your testimony and I have given some thought to this whole question, and it is not a simple matter. The question of violence on television and the impact that it has on society has been of concern for 20 years, and quite frankly I am insulted that you gentlemen—who represent one of the most successful businesses in America, a business where the network that gets the lowest ratings among the three still makes millions of dollars in profit—that you have come up with an answer to the problem of violence on television called the family viewing hour where 1 hour a night we are going to have something that is supposed to be suitable to the family.

But prior to that hour, the syndicated shows full of violence are available for every child to watch, and after that period of time is over, children are still watching TV. We hear information that there is more violence on television now in the totality for a child to watch, for an adult to watch, than we had prior to the family viewing hour.

I think it is insulting to come before Members of Congress and to come before the American people and say you are doing something about the problem.

Now, it is simple to say you are doing something to a problem that has a very difficult answer, if there is an answer at all, but I just think this whole thing is a smokescreen. If we end up with more violence on television than we had before family viewing, then what is family viewing doing other than trying to give you a gimmick for public relations to fool the American people into thinking that maybe there is some way out and that maybe the networks ought to be able to continue along the lines that they have already been so successful in following?

I want to ask some questions about this family viewing and I would be interested in your responses about the fact that there is just as much violence that comes on before—you know, we did not mention that earlier. People talk about children staying up until 9 o'clock or, in the central part of the country, until 8 o'clock.

But prior to that family viewing, they are watching television, and they are watching the same shows that are on at 9 and 10 in the evening, they are just shown through syndication at 5 and 6 and maybe even in the afternoon when they come home from school. Family viewing standards. What standards are we talking about?

Mr. Sauter said that there was 34 percent less violence on CBS TV based on review of—not a censor, but of the "creative editors"—than we have had otherwise.

I do not know where you get 34 percent. If Kunte Kinte had one toe chopped off, would it be 8 percent less violent than if he had his whole foot chopped off?

These figures—if it is a difficult question to quantify, where do you come up with 34 percent, and why are we told that it is not censorship when you tell a program producer what they can and cannot put on TV, when you tell the creative people who produce the shows that even though their creative ability to portray a story ought to go in one direction that you are advising them to do it in another way? That is censorship. It might be guidance and it might be creative editing, but it is censoring.

I just feel that we have a semantic game that is being played with us, and that semantic game includes the words that are put before the American people, such as "family viewing."

I would like to hear some comments from the censors of what standards you use during that family viewing period.

Mr. SAUTER. First of all, I do not know where you got the 18 percent figure, because I did not say it. I said 28 percent.

It is statistics, sir, and as I told one Congressman, we would be happy to furnish the kinds of letters and names which indicate where those figures come from.

Second, I am a bit bewildered at your use of the word "censor." Until 7 months ago, I lived abroad, traveled abroad and spent a great deal of time in parts of the world where censorship is a very real and sometimes very lethal quality, and I do not engage in censorship.

But in terms of answering your question, one of my colleagues may want to begin.

Mr. WAXMAN. What do you engage in when you tell somebody who has produced a show and written a show that this is not acceptable to the networks, who are the ultimate purchasers of the show, and you represent the networks and you say, this is not acceptable, rewrite it, or cut it out.

Now maybe that is not the same kind of censorship that we look at when we talk about the censorship in a more traditional sense in a more totalitarian country, but that is a censorship, is it not?

Mr. SAUTER. I do not think so. I have written a couple of books, sir, and in dealing with the editors of two of the major publishing firms in this country, I have had editors tell me that there were passages or elements within my book that they did not like and they would appreciate a rewrite.

And, indeed, as they were paying me to provide that product, we carried on what I thought was a very reflective, and ultimately beneficial discussion, as to how to make that product better serve its intended audience. I did that and I did not feel I was being censored.

Mr. WAXMAN. You, on behalf of the networks, who make the decision of whether to pay for the product, can have the power to say that something ought to be rewritten or deleted. In some places where you have traveled there is a government office that has to be deleted because they ultimately decide what ought to go into public circulation or not.

Is it any less censorship because a network does it than because a Government does it?

Mr. SAUTER. Absolutely. Absolutely, sir.

When we are discussing the elements, say, within a comedic broadcast and there is a line or exchange, we do not walk up and say, "Take that out, get rid of it." We walk up and say, "We have concerns about that line." Are there alternatives for that line, and then we explain why. And maybe it is not just that one line——

Mr. WAXMAN. Do you not think the censors in other places are not as nice as you, and maybe do not say it as nicely as you, but is not the effect the same that when you say this has to go, it has to go because you have the power to say it?

Mr. SAUTER. Maybe one of my colleagues wishes to respond.

Mr. WAXMAN. Surely.

Mr. PIERCE. Congressman, if I may, I would just like to respond to some of your comments relating to our intent, and I think that we at ABC have lived up to the full intent of what we intended in the family hour, and I would just like to go on record on it, and I would just like to list the shows that we have in the family hour——

Mr. WAXMAN. Before you do, let me make a comment regarding ABC because I think there is a tremendous irony in what has happened.

The family hour has been attributed to CBS and the irony is that ABC has benefited tremendously because ABC wrote shows in prime time geared to children, geared to a mild level of viewing. CBS lost the complete momentum to ABC which was showing "Laverne and Shirley" and "Happy Days," shows that were inoffensive and geared to a——

Mr. PIERCE. The general family.

Mr. WAXMAN [continuing]. A general audience, and the kind of shows that we were all led to believe would never get ratings, would never be successful. The formula before was that all we needed was another cop show.

So I commend ABC for its success and I think they are the beneficiary of the family hour. I do not think the public is necessarily the beneficiary of the family hour.

Mr. PIERCE. I would just like to comment, because there has been an indication that it was a public relations approach and if you just reviewed the shows which you started to name whether it is "Happy Days" or "Laverne and Shirley" or "Welcome Back, Kotter," or "What's Happening," or "Donny and Marie," or "Six Million Dollar Man," or "Bionic Woman,"—I have named every show we have in the family hour. We have just introduced "Blansky's Beauties," with Nancy Walker and "Fish," another comedy.

I do not find any of those programs inconsistent with the intent of what we expect to be in the family viewing hour.

On Sunday at 7:00 o'clock, which is either designed specifically for children or documentaries, we just introduced some children's classics, "Nancy Drew" and "The Hardy Boys."

Mr. WAXMAN. Was "Roots" shown during the family hour?

Mr. PIERCE. Absolutely not.

Mr. WAXMAN. With a show with some commentary where family discussion might be provided, would that be acceptable within the family hour? With some commentary in that?

Mr. PIERCE. I think we have shown certain programs at that hour where it was appropriate.

Mr. WAXMAN. I am trying to find out what is the standard for the family hour and what is the standard other than the family hour?

Mr. PIERCE. I would like to clarify one thing, Congressman. I think we program for the general audience during the family hour, but that does not mean that what is not in the family hour is not appropriate for general family viewing either. What we are reviewing is a mechanical counting, in the labelling of things that are called violent, and that is why we are in a very dangerous area. A lot of things fall under the violent category.

A pratfall could be considered violent. As my colleague suggested, pouring milk over somebody's head could be considered violence. A ple in the face could be considered violence. We cannot go by a mechanical count and identification.

You brought up the fact before that prior to the family hour that there are repeats of shows that contain violence. We do not program that time on a network basis. We provide national evening news.

What we do program in the late afternoon are After School Specials. All you have to do is review the subject matter of these After School Specials. They are uplifting, they are prosocial and they are morally responsible.

Mr. Waxman. Do you deny that local affiliates and local networks are running syndicated shows that are outside the family hour period, in the afternoon and evening hours.

Mr. Pierce. We are not responsible for what individual affiliates——

Mr. Waxman. I am talking about the effect of the family hour overall. Are we getting less violent shows on television at times when children watch?

Mr. Pierce. We are responsible to those owned stations that we have licenses for and we are very careful about what we put in those hours. I cannot speak for the broad affiliate body.

One of the purposes of the family viewing principle when it was first established was to create two hours of time, whether it be programed by the network or by local program affiliates that would provide programs that were applicable to general family viewing.

We are not responsible for what individual affiliates put on.

Mr. Waxman. I want to ask Mr. Traviesas some questions because you are in charge of enforcing these standards and I want to know what standards you impose during the family viewing period for your network——

Mr. Traviesas. That is very interesting——

Mr. Waxman. That is different from the rest of the time. I assume there is a different standard during family viewing time than during the rest of the——

Mr. Traviesas. In terms of subject matter and in terms of type of show, which is originally a program department suggestion, we try to make the first hour of our network programming, programs which are acceptable to the whole family. It is not a children's hour but a total, whole family hour.

And within that whole framework we do the same as we do with any other show on the network, whether it be in prime time or not, to be certain that whatever we do is in good taste and with all of the other standards that we have in our code book.

But what confuses me, Congressman, is that I thought we came here to discuss openly and honestly the problems of what seem to be your concern, and this committee, of too much violence and too much sex on television, and then you castigate us for being censors. You cannot have it both ways.

I think I said to you that censorship to me is a very negative term. We do not like to consider ourselves as censors.

We like to consider ourselves who are responsible in the review of programming material as, hopefully, being sympathetic to the writers, to encourage them to do better work, and within that framework be responsible in what we put on the air.

Mr. Waxman. You are making a decision for me and my family and for the rest of the American people. The three networks are making a decision what we are to watch, and you are deciding what is suitable for my family to watch during the family period, and you are deciding what is suitable for the rest of the country and everyone else to watch in other times.

So you are censoring; you are making decisions, and I want to know on what standards you make those decisions. If you are making a decision where during the family hour you can have the lowest common denominator junk that is not offensive to anybody because it is not worth anything to anybody, I want to know about it because I am a television viewer, and if the rest of the time you are piling on the violence, then I think the American people ought to know that the family viewing concept is not working and is not worth anything.

Mr. Traviesas. That is not true.

Mr. Waxman. Tell me the standard that you use during family viewing time. Is it a more strict standard?

You say that you always use a standard that is strong enough to limit gratuitous or excessive violence. How is that standard different in limiting violence during the family viewing hour?

Mr. Traviesas. I will reiterate what I have just said. It is the type of programming that goes in, in the early evening hour. At NBC, you have programs like Disney, "Little House on the Prairie," "Grizzly Adams," "Emergency," "Sanford and Son," and so on. It is the type of programming that determines it.

I think that one of the most difficult things that we all who are responsible for reviewing programs, and the easiest thing, that I will not succeed in it, is to put into rigid terms what is or is not acceptable. The guide has to be what our experience, what our total experience, what our reactions are from the public, what our honest judgment is about what is good taste, which is very difficult to define—just as we are finding it difficult to define what is actual gratuitous violence or not.

I think I recognize gratuitous violence, and I try to eliminate gratuitous violence from all shows that we put on the network. I try to eliminate erotic scenes. I try, hopefully, to depict women properly. I hopefully depict minority groups properly.

That is my general statement of principles, and to go beyond that, I think then we are censors.

Mr. Waxman. Well, when we were in Los Angeles, we heard from some of the people that write and produce some of these shows and Allan Burns, who is the creator of the "Mary Tyler Moore Show," as well as "Phyllis" and some other shows, told us a story.

He said that they were trying to figure out what was appropriate on a "Phyllis" show, and it involved the mother—Phyllis, the mother—concerned that her daughter, perhaps, was having an affair with a young man. At the very end of the show, the mother and daughter had some conversation, and Phyllis said, "Thank God, she didn't do it."

The censor at the creative affairs said "Strike that line" or something to that effect. They thought it was inappropriate to have that reference made.

The frustration that Mr. Burns related was that the standard that he was told would be imposed would be one geared toward not offending the most uptight parent anywhere in the country, and that one enforcing that standard in Los Angeles was hopefully trying to anticipate what a network executive in New York thinks that somebody in the Midwest is going to find appropriate or offensive.

As a matter of fact, with that particular show, it would have indicated that it was a very sensitive subject of the relationship of parent and child, of a mother and daughter, and how they relate to each other.

Why would not something like that have been appropriate during the family hour so that perhaps a family discussion could have resulted and maybe more communications within the family could have been produced?

The frustration that I am expressing is that you cannot give me a standard because it is a very difficult issue to give absolute standards for, but now you have a period of time where you are going to have an extra special standard, and that is not defined.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. As you are well aware, "Phyllis" is not an ABC show.

Mr. RUSSO [presiding]. If I may interrupt, I will give you an opportunity to answer that, but then we will have to proceed with the next witness.

Mr. TRAVIESAS. "Phyllis" is not an NBC show. If CBS would like to answer that——

Mr. SAUTER. I believe, Congressman, that that episode—and I may be wrong—I tend to believe it was the first Phyllis episode done for the family hour 2 years ago. It was part of the process—and, I think, a mutual one—as to what, indeed, were going to be the styles of programs that emerged for that period of time.

During the last several months in regards to the "Phyllis" show with the same creative people, I have only had one discussion with the producer about the appropriateness of a line, and it was taken care of and he got the line the way he wanted the line, and I agreed with it.

Thank you.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, just for the record, I want to make one comment on something that was said earlier.

Grant Hendrick wrote an article for TV Guide and Mr. Weisman informed me that where you had a letter referred to by him, he informed me that Grant Hendrick wrote a letter after the article was published that he was more than pleased with the article that was, in fact, published and that he thought that the study that he had referred to about the statements made by the people in prison and the impact that television had upon them was an accurate and irrefutable statement.

I want to put that in the record, and perhaps we could leave the record open for comment by all the people involved.

Mr. Sauter talked about one letter. I am bringing up reference to another letter that might clarify the record.

Mr. RUSSO. Without objection, it will be so ordered and the record will remain open.

[The letter referred to follows:]

MARQUETTE, MICH., *Tuesday, November 9, 1976.*

MR. JOHN WEISMAN,
Associate Editor, TV GUIDE, Radnor, Penn.

DEAR JOHN: This evening I received the revised manuscript, along with your letter and the Rights Agreement (enclosed). I must admit that I'm more than pleased!!!

Following our visit, I attempted to obtain further details, dates, specifics, *etc.*, from the men who's interviews had been incorporated in the manuscript. Somehow, rumors spread rapidly following our visit, to the effect that I had betrayed confidences, and that I was attempting to "fight" crime & violence on television, and trying to have all the televisions removed from Michigan prisons, et cetera. All sorts of ridiculous and UNTRUE rumors, and as a result I've not only gotten a "cold shoulder", but continuing hostility from many.

You left me with the impression that TV GUIDE would not, and could not buy or publish the piece, without further documentation, in terms of dates, etc. Therefore, unable to get cooperation, I've been quite depressed over the matter, and had almost given up hope. So, naturally, I'm thrilled by what I've received from you tonight ! ! ! ! !

Before you send me the $500 * * * I want to make it quite clear that I may not be able to procure any further details, than I already have. If that changes, I'll be more than happy to supply anything I can. But I can't promise. If this transaction is dependant upon my being able to obtain further dates & details * * * then I cannot accept the money. However, if your bosses are satisfied with what I have provided, or your research department is able to proceed with their investigation, with what you have * * * then in that case I'll be delighted to receive and accept the $500 in time for Christmas shopping! !

I received the little book you sent by Hughes Rudd, and enjoyed it very much! ! Thank you! ! I'm enclosing a little newspaper clipping which you might get a kick out of. Thanks a million for everything * * * I deeply appreciate all the time, effort, assistance, and kindness you've given and shown. You're a good man.

Very Truly,

GRANT H. HENDRICK.

Mr. RUSSO. Any questions from Mr. Moore?

Mr. MOORE. I have no questions.

Mr. PIERCE. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. RUSSO. Yes, sir.

Mr. PIERCE. Just before you close, if I may say one brief sentence.

Mr. RUSSO. I hope it does not trigger a number of comments, but——

Mr. PIERCE. I just want to make the point that we are responsible for the programs that we select to broadcast, and we must oversee those programs because we are also station licensees and cannot delegate that responsibility to the writer, the producer, or anyone else. I just wanted to get that into the record.

Mr. RUSSO. Thank you very much.

I thank the representatives from CBS, NBC, and ABC. Thank you.

Our next witness will be Peggy Charren, the president of Action for Children's Television.

STATEMENT OF PEGGY CHARREN, PRESIDENT, ACTION FOR CHILDREN'S TELEVISION

Ms. CHARREN. As someone who worries quite a bit about access to the airways, I was beginning to be a little concerned about access to this microphone.

Mr. RUSSO. I can understand that, Ms. Charren, and I apologize that it has taken so long to get to you.

Ms. CHARREN. It has been a remarkably interesting hearing for ACT.

I am Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television, and I certainly appreciate the opportunity to testify here today.

ACT is concerned about the violence children see on television. We are also concerned about the climate of decisionmaking in which this violence is examined.

Television violence has been mentioned with great frequency in the past few months in magazines, newspapers, on television and in corporate board room, and within executive offices of prestigious professional associations. ACT has always believed that the rush for ratings holds the real answer to the question of why violence has such a place of prominence on the broadcasting schedule.

Programs peppered with fast action or violence seem to attract considerable audiences and can therefore command a higher price tag per minute from sponsors who are eager to peddle their wares to vulnerable young consumers.

Prodded by recent vociferous protests from the medical profession and the threat of a consumer boycott of products promoted on excessively violent programs, however, many advertising agencies have now joined the ever-growing citizen arm which is determined to stem the invasion of media brutality into their homes.

The momentum of this concern has created a climate which gives an excuse to ignore recent decisionmaking through constitutionally recognized channels. The dramatization of gratuitous violence is a grave problem, but change that is meaningful must occur in a climate of responsible, public decisionmaking.

To ultimately affect broadcast practices and standards about the portrayal of broadcast violence, we must concern ourselves with the process of change as well as with the content of that change.

We opposed the family viewing hour, not because we approved of violence, but because we did not approve of the climate of secrecy that created those rules that affected millions of viewers, writers, and producers.

We believe that the public and its representatives can participate in any critical decision that alters television program. We believe that for long-term change to occur, the Federal Communications Commission and the House Subcommittee on Communications must demand that licensees demonstrate vigorous adherence to public interest standards. We must insure that a climate of responsibility exists.

To bring about this responsibility, we have specific recommendations.

Perhaps most important is the appointment of commissioners who have demonstrated concerns about broadcaster accountability to the public, with specific budget allocations to guarantee staff attention to license accountability.

Second, we recommend vigorous Commission scrutiny of license renewals. Scrutiny of program practices would include an examination of the amount of time devoted to children's programing, news and public affairs, programs designed for local needs, programs relating to minority interests and to public importance.

ACT believes that vigorous license renewal examination will establish broadcaster responsibility that will result in diversity of programing and the reduction of violence as a program theme. If a licensee knows with certainty that its renewal application will be seriously examined to determine whether it has served the public interest, necessity, and convenience, it will quickly become apparent that a high percentage of violence-based programs does not meet that standard.

We believe that license renewal applications must reflect with greater specificity what programing has been provided for children.

In 1971, the Federal Communications Commission examined children's television in response to an ACT petition. In 1974, the Commission issued its staff report and policy statement on children's television programs. The Commission stated that rules were not necessary, that self-regulation should be given a chance to respond to Commission concerns.

It is now 1977 and there is still a woeful absence of diverse, age-related programing for children. The present license evaluation of children programing fails to stimulate adequate efforts by broadcasters to provide programing suitable for children, and attractive to children.

The industry's refusal to program for children means that children who turn on commercial television, who tune in to what is available, view unnecessarily violent Saturday morning cartoons and evening programs designed for adults that utilize violence as a theme.

Therefore, ACT believes that Congress, either as part of the rewrite of the Communications Act, or within a specific license renewal bill must redefine the licensee's responsibility to children.

For example, we recommend that each licensee be given specific standards that establish prima facie evidence that adequate programing for children has been provided. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals has upheld this concept. It stated in *Citizens' Communications Center* v. *FCC* that Commission and rulemaking proceedings should strive to clarify in both quantitative and qualitative terms what constitutes superior service.

The court went on to say that one test of superior service should certainly be whether and to what extent the incumbent has reinvested the profit on his license to the service of the viewing and listening public.

Two, ACT suggests that licensees be required to program for children of different ages at times when children are watching.

Three, we recommend that licensees be required to maintain tapes or transcripts of children's programs to permit a meaningful determination of program diversity. The present reporting form provides the Commission and the community with inadequate ex post facto descriptions of program categories.

Four, we endorse the proposal that would restore the requirement that renewal applications propose specific programs to meet the needs of children in the community. This would give vitality to the traditional promise against performance tests in broadcast renewals.

Finally, it should be made clear that children's programing is part of the licensee's public obligation and that to meet these standards, broadcasters may have to draw upon profits from other programs to provide adequate programing for children.

We believe that these proposals do not constitute censorship as prohibited in the first amendment and section 325 of the Communications Act. They insure diversity in programing and they provide a long-range solution to the problem of using violence to attract audiences to the advertising method.

In 1972, ACT testified about television violence before the Senate Commerce Committee, noting that children's cartoons were the most violent of all programs monitored. Now we are back in Washington five years later, listening to Dr. Gerbner testifying that the level of violence took its biggest jump in family viewing time, followed by weekend children's programing.

Prof. Bradley Greenburg and Prof. Charles Atkin of Michigan State University just finished a study showing that Saturday morning was consistently the most violent and most deceitful time block of programing on commercial television, both on a relative and absolute basis. Physical aggression was almost twice as high on Saturday morning as for prime time.

While the network public relations departments advertise that all is well on children's TV, the performance disproves the promise. A broadcaster's promise to serve the public interest means serving the diversity of the 2- to 11-year-old audience with a diversity of programing formats and ideas.

It is ACT's conviction that the problems with children's television viewing are not merely that the numbers of violent incidents per hour are so many, but that the opportunities to select something different are so few.

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much, Ms. Charren.

Mr. Frey?

Mr. Frey. Thank you.

It is good to see you in front of this committee again, and it is good to see the work that you have done in this area. Of course, I must admit that I think that one of the problems is that kids watch much too much TV anyway, but just one question that I had about your statement.

I was interested in your comment on the family viewing hour. I have read it about four or five times and I take it that if it was done in a different way, somehow if the same results were brought about but in a different method, that you would approve it?

Ms. Charren. We think that the whole family viewing hour was a disaster for fixing programing in terms of children's needs, and we think that that is true for a number of reasons.

Mr. Frey. Even though there was less violence? You were not happy with less violence?

Ms. Charren. Well, first of all, we thought it did not speak to the needs of children's programing. As someone stated earlier this afternoon, children are a large part of the audience from 3 to 6 in the afternoon and——

Mr. **Frey**. We understand that, but I am just talking about the part that was the family viewing hour. I mean, if they extended the time, would that be part of what you would like, if they extended the time from 3 to 8?

Ms. **Charren**. No. What we worry about is the kind of statement in the family viewing hour process that says that the programing should be approved by the family. Someone said here, "the most uptight family."

We feel that that way of thinking of programing is content sensitive and could eliminate ideas from television instead of just violence from television. We certainly think if the broadcasters begin to worry about the kinds of programing they are showing at any particular hour of the day, without Government interference, this is not something that ACT is going to get upset about.

We do not think that the family viewing hour, as a concept had an effect, or was designed, really, to have an effect on what children see on television.

However, if the FCC had kept out of it, I do not think that ACT would have filed an amicus brief with the Writer's Guild.

Mr. **Frey**. And you basically disapprove of the Congress, like we are, becoming involved in violence?

Ms. **Charren**. Yes; we——

Mr. **Frey**. You do not think that we should be involved at all in trying to curb violence?

Ms. **Charren**. No; we are very sensitive to the first amendment as an organization, and we think that——

Mr. **Frey**. You are really not happy being here testifying, are you?

Ms. **Charren**. Yes; we are. We are happy being here testifying, because we think the process needs change. If, for example, the FCC was filled with responsible Commissioners who examined stations at license renewal time and said, "What makes you think you are serving the public interest which you promised to serve when you got that license to use the public airwaves? What makes you think this program serves the public interest?" We think that would have a lot of effect on the violence that children see on television.

Mr. **Frey**. Thank you.

Mr. **Russo**. Well, Ms. Charren, let me just followup on that.

In effect, you are asking the FCC Commissioners to censor programs through license renewal, are you not?

Ms. **Charren**. No; we are not asking them to censor. There is right now something that says, "to use a license you must serve the public interest."

Mr. **Russo**. But to do that, they have to make a subjective decision on content.

Ms. **Charren**. It does not necessarily have to be a subjective decision on content. It could say, for example, "you have to program some children's programs at times of the day when children are watching." They could be terrible children's programs, but they have to be children's programs that are designed for children when children are watching.

This is not true, generally, about broadcasters across the country now. There is, for example, very little preschool programing, except on one major network that has the only network daily program for pre-schoolers.

Mr. RUSSO. Of course, we are limited by two things. One is the first amendment of the Constitution. Two, section 326 forbids the Commission from having the power of censorship over radio and television.

So, in effect you are saying that we should censor them if they do not do the job they are supposed to be doing by taking their license away.

Ms. CHARREN. What we are saying——

Mr. RUSSO. I do not know how you are going to get around that problem, but it is something that we will deal with as a committee in rewriting the Communications Act.

I was wondering, you have done some work in the area of advertisers trying to sell various types of toys on television using violent programs to attract children—am I stating it properly?

Ms. CHARREN. We have done a lot of work in the area of advertising for children. We think that the selling of highly sugared food to children and expensive toys that break is a significant health and well-being hazard for America's children. We have managed to get rid of the vitamin pill ads from children's programing.

I am not sure I understand the question in terms of violence.

Mr. RUSSO. Well, using violent programs, for example, like various violent shows to sell, for example, GI Joe toys.

Ms. CHARREN. We never noted what the violent level of the programs that these commercials were in. We were concerned only with the commercials themselves when we filed those petitions with the Federal Trade Commission, and if the commercials were on programs that were over 50 percent children in the audience by the Nielsen rating, then they were considered children's commercials, regardless of what kind of program they were on. It could be a very sweet program—in fact, we made quite a case about the over-commercialization of "Romper Room," which was hardly a violent program, but had up tc 70 percent of program time devoted to commercial practices.

Mr. RUSSO. Let me just ask you one more question.

You seem to favor the fact that the Government should not use the regulatory mechanisms at all. Would you support the way we are going now, relying on the marketplace, the pressures coming from citizens' action groups, the various types of organizations involved throughout the country putting pressure on the advertiser and on the networks?

Ms. CHARREN. We think it is always appropriate for citizens to make their voice heard, and we have been encouraging them to do that for years. We have been encouraging parents to mediate between the child and the set.

We think that certainly one of the major problems is how much television children watch and that is not the problem of the broadcaster, it is a problem of the parent.

Mr. RUSSO. You are working from that angle too, are you not?

Ms. CHARREN. We certainly are. But we think that knowing that the House is going to be remaking the Communications Act and looking into license renewal, we think this is an area that can have a significant effect on programing and be content neutral. In fact, I was delighted to be here this morning to hear Henry Geller make his statement, which I endorsed 100 percent.

Mr. Russo. Mr. Wirth?

Mr. Wirth. I would just like, if I might, Ms. Charren—I am delighted you are here, by the way, and I am very pleased to have your reflections on this complicated issue. I think to clarify a couple of pieces of discussion that you had with Mr. Russo, I think one on holding this kind of a hearing. I thought you might want to expand a little bit on that, not that we should not be doing this.

It seems to me that it is a very healthy phenomenon to keep the network's feet to the fire doing this kind of thing. You were not suggesting to the contrary?

Ms. Charren. I think this is an extremely appropriate place to voice concerns about violence on television. The only thing I would not endorse is the FCC or Congress stepping in and deciding exactly how much violence is appropriate, and which programs.

Mr. Wirth. All right. I just wanted to make sure that that was clear and secondly to make sure that the distinction you were making which seems to me is a quantity of children's programing versus a qualitative substance of that. Do you think it would be appropriate, or would it be an infringement of the first amendment, were the FCC, for example, to inquire into the number of hours that were spent in children's programing, or the number of hours spent in public service programing?

Ms. Charren. I think it is not only appropriate, but it is necessary. It is implied in the fact that there is a public service requirement. If nobody is examining exactly what that is, then it is meaningless.

Mr. Wirth. We are going along the same track.

Would you make suggestions as to what kind of requirements the FCC ought to put on to a license renewal application for a local station? What kind of questions should the FCC then ask, in line with your expressed concern that they be operating within the public interest?

Ms. Charren. We think that they should have to describe what they are doing for children, they should have to describe the programs.

It was during our involvement with the FCC that has been going on since 1970, when we filed our petition, that the industry had to answer the inquiry that the FCC initiated in response to our petition. The broadcasters had to say what they were doing for children.

Well, one station listed the "Our Gang" comedies as an example of integrated programing at the same time that the NAACP was initiating a suit, or some sort of action, because it was racist.

We think that this is the kind of problem that a license renewal form that is not explicit enough and does not make clear exactly what the broadcaster is offering for service can——

Mr. Wirth. Has ACT put together a draft of what you would hope the FCC might require?

Ms. Charren. No; we have not, but I would be interested to get involved in that kind of effort.

Mr. Wirth. We are getting into the whole license renewal issue here, and I think that the issue tends to have been described in whether it is 3 years or 4 years or 5 years when the real issue is, you know, what is the renewal form and what is required.

You can make it 2 years and make it very easy or you can make it 5 years and inordinately difficult.

Ms. Charren. Congressman, I would be happy to send you ACT's suggestions if you wish to see them.

Mr. Wirth. Mr. Chairman, might we leave the record open or include the suggestions made by ACT which I think are very interesting ideas that that focus be placed in the license renewal at license renewal time, rather than someplace else.

Mr. Russo. Without objection, that will be included and the record will remain open.

[The following material was received for the record:]

APPENDIX TO ACT COMMENTS

Action for Children's Television (ACT) hereby submits comments for the Subcommittee on Communications of the House of Representatives regarding broadcast license renewal reform. These comments embody the proposed bill drafted by the Office of Communication of the United Church of Christ with the aid of other organizations concerned with reform. Additionally, the comments specifically propose license renewal reforms designed to improve licensee responsiveness to the child audience. The proposed bill is attached and follows the comments.

The goal of these proposals is to improve licensee accountability to the public in the renewal process through the adoption of specific standards of performance to be met by the broadcast licensee. These standards should operate as *prima facie* evidence that the licensee has broadcast and operated in the public interest and is entitled to renewal of its license. In the case of a competitive application, a superior record of performance under these standards should operate as a significant determining factor in favor of the applicant for renewal. Presently, the lack of objective standards has resulted in great variances in broadcast service and the potential loss of license based upon *ex post facto* requirements and subjective evaluations. The absence of any *enforceable* standards relating to the child audience makes the need for objective standards in the area of children's television programming and practices particularly great. *The Staff Report and Policy Statement on Children's Television Programs*, issued by the Federal Communications Commission in 1974 deferred to self-regulation within the broadcast industry. However, the Commission left Docket No. 19142 open, in the event that self-regulation proved inadequate, thus establishing the need for rulemaking. The *Policy Statement* has not been adhered to by the majority of station licensees, and it therefore seems appropriate that the key portions of that statement be incorporated into a license renewal bill.

The proposed broadcast license renewal reform act "Section 2," allows review by the Commission and the public of substantial changes in licensee operation, by providing that substantial change in operation will result in the expiration of the license and the requirement that a new application be filed. Prior to a final ruling on the new application, the licensee would be permitted to continue to operate and to proceed with its proposed changes.

The purpose of this section is to alter the current situation in which a licensee can propose program service attractive to the community and then change its plans, following the grant of its application simply by advising the Commission of its intention. The change in service is completed by the time the license comes up for renewal. This practice excludes the public from significant participation in the license renewal process.

The staggering of the renewal dates of broadcast stations within a community would be accomplished by the proposed Section 307 (d)(3). Presently, all licenses within a state expire simultaneously every three years. This procedure places a great burden upon citizen groups who must review and respond to the filed material within 90 days. If the Commission truly seeks public participation in the renewal process, it should strive to structure license renewals so that the public is given a reasonable opportunity to participate. If a new standard is established for an area of programming, such a children's programming, it is particularly important that the public be given adequate time to evaluate the licensee's compliance.

The proposed Section 307 (d)(5) requires that the Commission establish through rules, quantitative standards to evaluate whether the licensee has served the public interest, convenience and necessity. The need for such standards has been endorsed by many broadcasters, as well as public groups. These standards would provide the broadcaster with a clear statement of its obligations and would assure that its license would not be denied for capricious reasons.

The Commission has considered, since 1971, standards for broadcast renewal applicants in the comparative hearing process (Docket No. 19154). The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia indicated its approval for standards defining what constitutes "superior performance." It stated:

"The court recognizes that the public itself will suffer if incumbent licensees cannot reasonably expect renewal when they have rendered superior service. Given the incentive, an incumbent will naturally strive to achieve a level of performance which gives him a clear edge on challengers at renewal time. But if the Commission fails to articulate the standards by which to judge superior performance, and if it is thus impossible for an incumbent to be reasonably confident of renewal when he renders superior performance, then an incumbent will be under an unfortunate temptation to lapse into mediocrity, to seek the protection of the crowd by eschewing the creative and the controversial in programming and other forms of public service. The Commission in rule making proceedings, should strive to clarify in both quantitative and qualitative terms what constitutes superior service . . . Along with elimination of excessive and loud advertising and delivery of quality programs, one test of superior service should certainly be whether and to what extent the incumbent has reinvested the profit on his license to the service of the viewing and listening public. We note with approval that such rule making proceedings may soon be under way." *Citizens Communications Center v. F.C.C.*, 447 F. 2d 1201 (D.C. Cir. 1971)

The proposed standards would not prevent a broadcaster from establishing that its service did meet the general public interest standard, nor would they prevent a member of the public from asserting that the service was inadequate for other reasons.

Action for Children's Television would amend Section 307 (d)(5)(A) as proposed by the United Church of Christ:

"(v) Program time devoted to children, which is designed for the pre-school age group, the elementary school age group and adolescents, to be provided throughout the viewing day

"(vi) The investment of a percentage of an applicant's profits in the provision of the programming described in subsection (i)–(v) above."

The inclusion of children's programs as a programming category for which substantial service must be provided by the licensee to have met its prima facie basic licensee obligation ensures meaningful compliance with the principles outlined in the Commission's Report on Children's Programs. The language of Section 307 (d)(5)(A) should be interpreted to signify that children's programming is part of the licensee's public service obligation and to meet these standards the broadcaster may have to draw upon profits from other programs to provide adequate programming for children.

The proposed Section 307 (d)(5)(B) would restore the requirement that renewal applications propose programs to meet the needs of the community, including the child audience. By including specific program promises in the renewal aplication, new vitality would be given to the connection between the ascertainment of needs and the selection of programs, restoring the traditional "promise against performance" test. Additionally, the proposed section would require all broadcasters to maintain records of their efforts to ascertain community needs. These records could include tapes or transcripts of news and public affairs programming for adults and minimally all programming designed for children other than entertainment.[1]

The Commission in its *Report and Policy Statement on Children's Television Programs* (hereinafter "Report") made clear that the television licensee has an obligation "to provide diversified programming designed to meet the varied needs and interests of the child audience."[2] Educational or informational programming was stressed as being particularly important. The maintenance of tapes or transcripts of other than entertainment programming would permit the community and the Commission to determine if, in fact, the licensee has complied with the *Report* guidelines.

The proposed Section 307 (d)(3)(C) would establish standards for multiple cross-ownership.

The proposed Section 307 (d)(3)(D) would change the Commission's equal opportunity procedures in two ways: it would require, along with Section 307 (d)(4)(D), all stations with five or more employees to file affirmative action plans and it would bring broadcasters under the more stringent requirements applicable to federal contractors. These changes would encompass those stations now exempt, those with less than 50 full-time employees, and would apply to these holders of public licenses the same standards as are applied to government contractors.

The proposed 307 (d)(4) entitles a renewal applicant who gives superior service a comparative advantage as against any competing applicant.

The proposed Section 307(d)(7) would require the Commission to adopt rules specifying the standards it will apply in comparative hearings between two or more mutually exclusive applicants. It would require the Commission to give consideration among other things to superior program proposals, to local owner-management and to the participation of minorities and women in ownership and management.

The proposed Section 307 (d)(6), in combination with proposed Section 307 (d)(3)(B), is designed to restore the requirement that a licensee make specific programming proposals to meet the needs of its community and that, in its renewal application, it shows whether it has carried out its promises.

Section 309 (d)(1) as proposed, would permit a petitioner discovery of facts relevant to the petition. Although such discovery is commonly permitted in state and federal courts, it has been denied by the Commission. Because of the strict pleading requirements of Section 309 it is particularly important in Commission proceedings. In *Bilingual Bicultural Coalition of Mass Media v. F.C.C.* (492 F. 2d 656, 1974) the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia suggested that the Commission allow such discovery. At present, the Commission will not permit discovery of facts within the knowledge of the licensee until after an order designating a hearing and it will not designate a hearing without sworn evidence, virtually impossible to obtain prior to designation.

It is proposed to amend Section 309(d)(2) to require a hearing if an applicant has failed to comply with the Commission's standards and procedures. At the hearing, the applicant would attempt to demonstrate that notwithstanding *prima facie* defects, its total performance met the public interest standard of the Act.

The provision for proposed Section 309 (h) encourages negotiations between broadcast licensees and members of the public raising significant issues. It is taken verbatim from HR 12993, approved by the House in 1974.

A new section 309(i) would be added to provide for reimbursement of legal and other expenses of public groups which raised issues of sufficient significance to require a hearing or which entered into agreements for improved service which were approved by the Commission. It has been held that reimbursement may not be received without statutory authorization.[3]

Section 4 of the Act would be amended to ensure a more equitable rulemaking process. It provides that a) the Commission act on petitions for rulemaking within 180 days by either denying the petition or issuing a public notice of inquiry or rulemaking and b) the Commission would reimburse the expenses of public interest groups in rulemaking proceedings. Both of these proposals address present inequities within Commission practice. At present, citizen rulemaking petitions may remain unacted upon at the Commission for years. If the petition for rulemaking is accepted, the petitioner must sustain considerable personal expense, although it is acting on behalf of the public interest. The Federal Trade Commission has successfully operated a reimbursement program and consequently secured more effective and representative public participation in its rulemaking proceedings.

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[1] Provision for more complete maintenance of program records was set forth in the comments of public groups for Docket No. 19667, *Petition for Rulemaking to Require Broadcast Licensees to Maintain Certain Program Records*.

[2] Report at paragraph 17.

[3] *Turner v. F.C.C.*, 514 F. 2d 1354 (D.C. Cir., 1975).

It is proposed to amend Section 310 of the Act to require the Commission to consider in any proceeding for transfer or assignment of a license whether the public interest would not be better served by a transfer or assignment to a person other than the one proposed. The present provisions in Section 310 encourage monopolistic and absentee ownership and discourage ownership by emerging groups, including racial minorities. Section 310 as proposed would require the Commission to evaluate more fairly whether a proposed transfer is in the public interest.

The proposed Section 310(c) would permit agreements to settle disputed license renewal proceedings by transfer to a superior licensee. Whereas, the Commission's present policy prevents the incumbent from profiting on the disposition of his license, the effect is that the licensee and petitioner must remain in proceedings beyond their financial resources. There is also considerable expense to the Court and the Commission. The proposed provision allows for an expeditious settlement between licensee and petitioner which permits an agreement on the transfer of the station to a new and superior licensee. This process would not preclude a competitive application and an award to an even better licensee.

It is proposed to amend Section 402 of the Act to provide the same procedure for review of Commission orders in licensing proceedings as is presently provided for other Commission orders. The principal effect of this change is to give a person seeking review the option of filing his petition with the Court of Appeals in the judicial circuit in which the station is located, rather than in the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit which now has exclusive jurisdiction of licensing appeals. Another change is that the United States would be a party to the review of licensing orders. It is believed that the Department of Justice might have different views from the Commission in some cases, particularly those involving questions of media concentration.

At present, the Commission is of the view that it is under no obligation to entertain petitions of public parties except in renewal proceedings. Proposed Section 312(f) would specifically authorize the Commission to consider public petitions to revoke broadcast license during the license term.

The Commission recently reversed its long-standing interpretations of the Section 315 of the Act to the effect that broadcast coverage of debates between candidates and candidate press conferences give rise to equal time obligations. The proposed amendment of Section 13 is intended to restore the interpretations in effect prior to the 1976 elections.

Section 14 of the proposed bill would require the Commission to study the means for the development of a more open and competitive media system and to report to Congress within two years. In the interim, Commission would be required in each of its actions to evaluate its effect on spectrum capacity, diversity of information sources and economic competition.

S. [illegible]. To amend the Communications Act of 1934 to provide sufficient criteria and procedures for the renewal of broadcast station licenses, increase the ability of the public to participate in the regulatory proceedings of the Federal Communications Commission, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Broadcast License Renewal Reform Act".

[illegible]

Sec. 2. Section 307(d) of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended to read as follows:

"(d) (1) The term of any license, or the renewal thereof, for operation of a broadcasting station may not exceed three years, and the term of any license, or the renewal thereof, for any other class of station may not exceed five years, and any license granted may be revoked as hereinafter provided.

"(2) Notwithstanding the above, a license for a broadcasting station shall be deemed to have expired thirty days after the licensee proposes any substantial modification in the terms and conditions of its operation under its initial grant or renewal, including but not limited to any substantial alteration of its programming format.

"(3) The Commission shall by rule prescribe that to the maximum extent possible, the expiration dates for licenses within a particular state, city, or other locality within a state shall be distributed evenly within a three year period.

"(4) Consistently with the foregoing provisions of this subsection, the Commission may by rule prescribe the period or periods for which licenses shall be granted and renewed for particular classes of stations, but the Commission may not adopt or follow any rule which would preclude it in any case involving a station of a particular class, from granting or renewing a license for a shorter period than that prescribed for stations of such class if, in its judgment, the public interest, convenience, and/or necessity would be served by such action.

"(5) Any license granted under subsection (c) may upon its expiration be renewed, in accordance with Section 309, if the Commission finds that the public interest, convenience and necessity would be served by the renewal of such license. In considering whether the public interest, convenience and necessity would be served by the renewal of a broadcast license, the Commission shall prescribe by rule:

"(A) Quantitative and other standards to determine whether the licensee has rendered a substantial informational program service to its community of license, and acted in a meaningful way as a local outlet for expression of diverse views on issues of public importance. All such standards shall include a requirement that such programming be presented in time periods reasonably calculated to reach a substantial portion of the licensee's audience. Such standards of substantial service shall include, at minimum, the following programming categories:

(i) program time devoted to news and public affairs in general;

(ii) program time devoted to locally originated material in general, and to locally originated news and public affairs;

(iii) program time devoted, without charge, on a rotating basis, to the service of educational, religious, charitable and other community based organizations;

(iv) spot time made available without charge for public service announcements and access messages, allocated between requesting individuals and groups representative of significant community segments or concerns;

(v) the investment of a percentage of an applicant's profits in the provision of the programming described in subsections (i)-(iii) above.

Further, in the programming categories included in such standards and in the time made available for purchase, shall an applicant have a policy of facilitating the expression of controversial views. A licensee that provides substantial service in these categories shall be deemed prima facie to have met its basic licensee obligation to provide informational program service and to operate as a local outlet, subject, however, to a subsequent showing that such programming has failed in other respects to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity.

"(B) Procedures to be followed by all broadcast licensees to ascertain the problems, needs and interests of all significant segments of their service area, and to propose programming specifically designed to meet these problems, needs and interests.

"(C) Standards respecting the ownership interests of [illegible] corporations of the applicant in other stations or other communications media or other busi-

STANDARDS FOR DESIGNATION OF HEARINGS

Sec. 6. Section 309(d)(2) of such Act is amended by adding the following to the end of the existing section:

"For purposes of this paragraph, the Commission shall be unable to find that a grant of the application without hearing would be consistent with subsection (a) of this section if the Commission finds that

(A) the applicant has failed to render substantial service as defined by the Commission under Section 307(d)(A) of this Act; or

(B) there is a substantial deviation between the applicant's programming proposals for the most recent past license period and the programming broadcast during the most recent past license period; or

(C) the applicant has otherwise failed to serve its community of license during the most past license period; or

(D) the applicant has not adequately ascertained the problems, needs and interests of its community of service for the forthcoming license period or proposed programs specifically designed to meet them; or

(E) the applicant's efforts in the most recent past license period, or its proposed efforts for the forthcoming license period, to assure equal employment opportunities, are not in compliance with the Commission's rules; or

(F) the applicant has misrepresented matters to the Commission or the public, or taken some other action or made some other proposal inconsistent with the public interest, convenience and necessity.

(G) the ownership interests or official connections of the applicant in other stations or other communications media or other businesses substantially diminishes access by the community of license to the benefits of diverse information sources and economic competition.

nothing in the above enumeration shall be construed so as to preclude the Commission from finding, upon an appropriate showing, upon other grounds, that grant of an application without hearing will not serve the public interest, convenience and necessity.

NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN APPLICANTS AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY OF SERVICE

Sec. 7. Section 309(h) of such Act is amended by adding thereto:

"Every license issued under this chapter shall also be subject to the terms agreed to by the applicant and members of its community of service if the Commission determines that such agreement serves the public interest, convenience and necessity. The Commission shall prescribe procedures to encourage licensees of broadcasting stations and persons raising significant issues regarding the operations of such stations, good faith negotiation to resolve such issues. The Commission, if presented with an agreement resulting therefrom, shall make an affirmative determination whether or not such agreement serves the public interest, convenience and necessity.

REIMBURSEMENT IN LICENSING MATTERS

Sec. 8. Section 309 of such Act is amended by adding the following new section (i) thereto:

(i) In the event that the participation of members of a licensee's community of service results in an agreement approved by the Commission as provided in subsection (h) of this section, or in the event that the Commission is unable to find without a hearing that grant of the application would be consistent with subsection (a) of this section because of questions of fact or other considerations raised by a party in interest whose economic interest in the outcome, unlike that of a proposed applicant or competitor, is small compared to the costs of effective participation in the proceeding, then the Commission shall, upon request, direct the applicant to reimburse the reasonable costs, including attorney's fees, incurred by the members of the community or the party in interest, in furtherance of their participation in the Commission's licensing processes.

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REIMBURSEMENT OF PARTICIPATION IN RULEMAKING

Sec. 7. Section 4 of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(p) The Commission shall pursuant to rules prescribed by its award compensation for reasonable expenses, including attorney's fees, of participating in any rulemaking proceedings of the Commission or in any proceeding before a joint board of a Federal-State Joint Board referred to in Section 410 of this Act whenever public participation in the proceeding promotes or can reasonably be expected to promote a full and fair determination of the issues involved, and

(1) the person represents an interest the representation of which contributes or can reasonably be expected to contribute substantially to a fair determination of the proceeding, taking into account the number and complexity of the issues presented, the importance of public participation, and the need for representation of a fair balance of interests; and

(2)(A) the economic interest of the person in the outcome of the proceeding is small in comparison to the costs of effective participation in the proceeding by that person, or whenever the person is a group or organization, the economic interest of a substantial majority of the individual members of such group or organization is small in comparison to the costs of effective participation in the proceeding, or

(B) the person demonstrates to the satisfaction of the agency that such person does not have sufficient resources available adequately to participate in the proceeding in the absence of an award under this section."

EXPEDITION OF PETITIONS FOR RULEMAKING

Sec. 8. Section 4(j) of such Act is amended by adding the following:

"The Commission shall act upon any petition for rulemaking within 180 days from its submission, issuing a Notice of Inquiry or Notice of Proposed Rulemaking or an opinion setting forth the reasons why such action would not be in the public interest. If the Commission fails to act upon any such petition within this time period, it shall provide Congress with a detailed explanation therefor."

CONSIDERATION OF COMPETING APPLICANTS AT TRANSFER

Sec. 9. Section 310(d) of such Act is amended by striking the second sentence and substituting therefore the following:

"Any such application shall be disposed of as if the proposed transferee were making application under Section 308 for the permit or license in question, and in acting thereon the Commission shall consider whether the public interest, convenience and necessity would be served by the transfer, assignment or disposal of the permit or license to a person other than the proposed transferee or assignee; provided that the Commission may adopt rules and regulations, consistent with the public interest, convenience and necessity, that permit the transfer or assignment in accordance with the terms of the proposed transfer or assignment, to an interim operator composed of such of the applicants as desire to participate therein, pending a final determination thereon."

TRANSFER AFTER DESIGNATION FOR HEARING

Sec. 10. Section 310 of such Act is amended by adding the following new subsection:

"(e) If a hearing is designated on a renewal application under Section 309(e), the applicant shall not be allowed to transfer or assign its license unless the following conditions are met:

(1) the consideration does not substantially exceed the value of the assets transferred exclusively of the license

(2) the Commission finds a compelling public interest benefit from the proposed transfer, including but not limited to, ownership of a controlling interest in the transferee by members of a minority group with substantial representation in the service area.

(3) all parties to the renewal proceeding consent to the grant of renewal conditional upon the transfer

(4) the application for transfer is filed prior to a decision of the Commission denying renewal."

COURTS OF REVIEW

SEC. 11. Section 402 of such Act is amended to read as follows:

Any proceeding to review, enjoin, set aside, annul or suspend any order of the Commission under this chapter shall be brought as provided by and in the manner prescribed by Chapter 19A of Title 5.

PETITION TO REVOKE

SEC. 12. Section 312 of such Act is amended to add the following new subsection:

"(f)(1) Any party in interest may file a petition to revoke any license or construction permit. The licenses or permittee shall have a reasonable opportunity to respond to such petition, and the petitioner shall have a reasonable opportunity to reply. If good cause is presented for revocation proceedings, the Commission shall institute the proceedings authorized by subsection (a) to (e) of this section, direct the submission of a renewal application by the licensee on an expedited basis, or take such other administrative action as is appropriate.

(2) The Commission shall issue an order containing the reasons for its actions on the petition, or if no action is taken, the reasons therefor, within 180 days of the filing of the last pleading in the matter.

CLARIFICATION OF EXEMPTIONS FROM EQUAL TIME PROVISIONS

SEC. 13. Section 315(a) of such Act is amended by adding, after "(2) bona fide news interview" the words "provided that the news interview is not independently called for, arranged, or produced by the candidate" and by adding, after "(4) on the spot coverage of bona fide news events (including but not limited to political conventions and activities incidental thereto" the words "where the appearance of the candidate is incidental to the presentation of news."

STUDY OF REDUCTION OF SPECTRUM SCARCITY AND INCREASE IN INFORMATION SOURCES

SEC. 14. The Federal Communications Commission shall conduct a study to determine how to reduce the scarcity of broadcast frequencies and to further the goals of maximum feasibe access of local communities to diverse sources of information and to economic competition among communications media, and shall report its findings and actions taken thereon (along with any proposals for necessary implementing legislation) to the Congress within two years from the date of enactment of this section. The Commission, in conducting this study, shall consider, without limitation thereto, the following means to eliminate existing deficiencies:

(1) modification of its television allocations policies, including creation of additional VHF allocations through reduction in spacing requirements and for power,

(2) adoption of policies to upgrade and stimulate UHF service,

(3) elimination of clear channel radio stations and substitution of additional locally allocated stations therefor,

(4) requiring shared time operation of broadcast frequencies,

(5) adoption of policies to increase the portion of the spectrum, particularly the VHF television and FM radio spectrum, available to and utilized by public broadcasting,

(6) adoption of policies to stimulate an increase in minority ownership of all communications services,

(7) adoption of policies to increase the diversity of programming formats available to the public and

(8) adoption of policies to stimulate the growth of competitive communications technologies.

Pending such report the Commission shall include a statement in each of its actions as to the effect of such action upon spectrum scarcity and the need of local communities for diverse sources of information and economic competition among communications media.

Mr. WIRTH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RUSSO. Mr. Markey?

Mr. **Markey**. I would like to welcome my neighbor from Massachusetts. I have just one question regarding the advertising on children's programing and any suggestions that you might have to improve this situation.

Ms. **Charren**. Well, when ACT started, we spent a lot of time talking about the problem of trying to change a climate of broadcasting to make the needs of the child come before the needs of the advertiser. We did not want to say, "Take that program off, we don't like it," or even "Put this program on because we do," and we learned from the broadcaster that the only reason there was no diversity was because the programing existed to attract the largest share of that 2-to-11-year-old market, which is how the broadcaster described our children to us, which was remarkably honest, at least—and to attract that market for commercial messages.

So all our efforts for the past 8 years now in the area of regulation have been to eliminate advertising—it has had the effect of reducing it, at least—but to eliminate advertising from children's television, we are working on that part of the broadcast day, because children are the most vulnerable part of the audience and because research has shown that for young children, at least, that there are a lot of problems in commercials directed to children. We want to eliminate commercials altogether from that programing and make sure that the only pressures on the broadcaster, then, for children's programing, was the interest of the child.

Mr. **Markey**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Russo**. Mr. Gore?

Mr. **Gore**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome, Ms. Charren. I appreciate your statement, and I appreciate the efforts of citizen's groups around this country to influence television programing for the better.

Mr. Chairman, with permission, I would like to insert a statement from the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, by Dr. Harry N. Hollis, Jr., and Dr. C. Welton Gaddy, for the record.

Mr. **Russo**. Without objection, so ordered. [See p. 457.]

Mr. **Gore**. Ms. Charren, how do you think that your group and Dr. Gaddy's group and other groups around this country can be more effective in decreasing the amount of violence on TV?

Ms. **Charren**. Well, we think that it is very important to get television issues on the airwaves. For example, we think that if there were more discussions of some of the problems with television on television, perhaps we would have an informed audience that knew better how to deal with the problems of television.

Mr. **Gore**. That is an interesting—go ahead.

Ms. **Charren**. This is especially important since research has shown, and is showing—there is a lot of research happening in this area now—that informed parents can make a different relating to what their children are seeing.

As part of our campaign to educate parents on how important it is to get involved in the process, we have started a campaign titled "Treat TV with TLC." In fact, maybe I could put this into the record so you would know that ACT is trying to do its job on the other score as well—but we think that education on the airwaves of some of these problems could help. If you are going to make the participation of the public in the process one of the ways that you get the broadcasters to be responsible to the needs of the public, then it seems to us it makes sense to educate the public to take part in that process.

Mr. GORE. To your knowledge, has there ever been a documentary on this issue on television?

Ms. CHARREN. Well, there was NBC's program on violence, which we did not think really spoke to our particular concerns. There was CBS with a program on commercials which conspicuously ignored most of the concerns about commercials directed to children.

When we suggested that, in fact, that advertising to children was missing, we thought conspicuously missing from the program, we were told it was so important that it deserved a program of its own, but we have not seen a program of its own.

Speaking of advertising, I would like to say that when we have this archive of research relating to children and television, referred to earlier in these hearings, we would like to see in that archive some of the advertiser's research, to show just how effective those advertising methods are with children, to get them to want some of that food that most people who care about children do not think they should be eating in the first place.

Mr. WIRTH. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. GORE. I would be glad to yield.

Mr. WIRTH. On that point, channel 7—the CBS affiliate in Denver—is producing a program right now on the impact of violence on television on children and with pieces of that which will be shown late this spring, I think that is a very good thing for them to be doing right along with what you are suggesting and Mr. Gore is asking about.

Mr. GORE. I am glad to hear that, and I hope that the issue will be explored further.

What practical problems—let me say, first, that I want to associate myself with the remarks made by Mr. Wirth about the focal point being license renewal. I have felt all along that the point at which leverage ought to be exerted is with the affiliates. They are the licensees. They receive their license from the public, in the public interest, and their performance is judged by the FCC either on a comparative basis or in a vacuum if there is no competitor for their particular license.

Has your group challenged any license renewals and, if so, what difficulties have you encountered in following that process?

Ms. CHARREN. No; we have not challenged any licenses. We have not gone that route. We have enough trouble, I guess, with our small staff managing to do what we are doing.

Some of our affiliate groups around the country have been involved in challenges, not as the single challenger but participating in proceedings that are happening in local communities around the country.

Mr. GORE. What practical problems would there be to presenting a challenge, if you decided to do that in your particular area? Did you explore that at all?

Ms. **Charren.** We have not explored it as something that ACT is planning to do in the near future. However, we did take a position on the opening of the logs, for example, to the public—the program logs. We think that any change in practices that facilitates the interaction of broadcaster and the public, that opens up the process to allow the public to participate and to encourage the public to participate will make a lot of difference.

We think that racism and sexism—I assume from the word "sex" in the notice of this hearing that the subject is not just violence; it is also sex—we think the primary problem with sex on children's television is what is called sexism, the fact that women are relegated to a second-class role on children's programing, as you can see if you watch Saturday morning—even the new Saturday morning programs, when presumably broadcasters are improving. You can understand sexism maybe with Popeye and Olive Oyl, from the 1930's, when we did not realize that women were people. But there has been a lot of talk about women in the last 5 years, and you would think that the new programs would take that into account, and it is just not true.

It could be because they are being made, in many cases, by the same people who made the programs in the 1930's, which speaks to the need for a diversity of program sources for television, but we think there is racism—implicit racism in the fact that it is very much a white bunch of characters on children's programing. For example, animals have more speaking roles than blacks, according to a recent research study.

Mr. **Russo.** The gentleman's time has expired.

Ms. Mikulski?

Ms. **Mikulski.** Yes, Mr. Chairman.

It was worth waiting all afternoon to finally meet you after all of these years.

Ms. **Charren.** Thank you.

Ms. **Mikulski.** I have several questions. One, does ACT itself have local chapters in other communities?

Ms. **Charren.** Yes, we do. We have about 15 affiliates. They are loosely affiliated with ACT because we think it is important for local audiences, for audiences of stations around the country, to speak to their own needs with these broadcasters and we do not want to dictate what their response to programing should be.

So when a group organizes to deal with the programing locally in a particular area of the country, they are their own person. When they go and speak to a broadcaster, they speak from their own concerns.

Ms. **Mikulski.** Now, has ACT developed materials to disseminate to local groups who wish to challenge the license renewal of local affiliates?

Ms. **Charren.** Very few materials for that particular purpose. We do have a set of suggestions for monitoring if groups want to set up monitoring procedures. We have a set of instructions for some ways that we found profitable——

Ms. **Mikulski.** I would like to see those sets of instructions and ask unanimous consent that they be submitted for the record.

Ms. **Charren.** I would be pleased to do that.

[The material requested had not been received at the time the record was closed.]

Ms. **Mikulski.** The third point is this: There is a great deal of discussion on license renewal—and I would agree with the Wirth-Gore posture on this. There is now legislation pending before this committee on license renewal that would have renewal every 5 years with a presumption in favor of the current licensee. I wonder if you would share with us your thoughts on that in light of your specific recommendations for targeted activity.

Ms. **Charren.** Well, because ACT is so concerned about broadcaster accountability, we tend to want, in our kind of rewrite of bills, a narrow interpretation of how broadcasters, how often they have to account for what they are doing and more rules, maybe, about how much they have to say about what they are doing.

We were never particularly upset with 3 years as a license renewal standard. We hear a lot of talk about the cost of reregulation in all aspects of broadcasting—in fact, in all aspects of business—and ACT is concerned with the cost of nonregulation.

We feel that there has been too little regulation when it comes to children; that when rules are not made about advertising sugar for children, we are not considering the dental costs and the health costs, and the health costs for adults who form their food habits in infancy.

And so our concerns about the rewriters of the Communications Act and license renewals tend to focus more on the needs of the public and less on the needs of the broadcaster.

Ms. **Mikulski.** Thank you.

Mr. **Russo.** Thank you very much, Ms. Charren.

Ms. **Charren.** Thank you very much for having me.

Mr. **Russo.** I appreciate your taking the time out and spending all day with us today.

Ms. **Charren.** It was a profitable day for us.

Mr. **Russo.** Thank you.

Our next witness is Richard Powell, the chairman of the Writers' Guild of America.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD M. POWELL, CHAIRMAN, FAMILY VIEWING HOUR COMMITTEE, WRITERS' GUILD OF AMERICA

Mr. **Powell.** Thank you. I am happy to be here.

Mr. **Russo.** Good evening, Mr. Powell.

Mr. **Powell.** I was happy to be here. That sort of euphoria gets hard to maintain over the day.

I wish to say, before starting on my remarks, that my remarks will be slightly more acerbic, cynical, and perhaps even less polite than most of the other witnesses. I can only say in my own excuse, or on my own behalf, that nobody else here has served for 27 years as a television writer.

I am not the chairman of the Writers' Guild of America. I am the chairman of the Writers' Guild of America's Family Viewing Hour Committee and that is the committee that brought the family hour suit. I am speaking here, however, as the official representative of the Writers' Guild.

Although I am speaking here today for the Writers' Guild, our members do not, unfortunately, control the form and content of America's television. That control is firmly in the hands of the three major networks and has been for nearly 20 years.

If there is too much violence on television or too little sex on television—if I am going to be inflammatory here, I might as well start early—the responsibility rests with ABC, CBS and NBC. Control starts at the beginning with the creation of the formats of the new series. The network programers let it be known what they are looking for, which is the same thing that they were looking for last year.

The writer or writer-producer comes in with a format which is quickly reduced to the lowest common denominator by the network people—something like a group of men with large feet stamping out a grass fire.

What is wanted, generally, is a series about two cops with a warm, caring relationship toward one another, leaving behind them, as they work their warm and caring way through the television season, a mountain of dead bodies.

In other words, the format is a vacuum which must be filled by violence.

The networks, of course, deny responsibility. They will even deny that there is a problem. This is because violence is related to content and the content of television is outside the network's sphere of thinking—not outside of their control, just outside of their thinking.

This is because the network people are sales people. They are hired to move product—cars, soap, lipstick, toilet paper—because that is where the money is.

Let me give you the bubble gum analogy. Some brands of bubble gum is wrapped in waxed paper which contains cartoons, a device to aid in sales. That is American television.

Those who control it may put in some of their time on the cartoons, but their minds and their hearts are in the bubble gum. So, when summoned to a hearing such as this one the networks will come in with their charts and their graphs, their percentages and their promises of reform—they have reformed more times than Huck Finn's father—but they really do not see it as a problem. Business is great, what is the problem?

All right, what is the problem?

We are, among the major nations, probably the most violent in the world. We also have more television sets than any other country. Is there a connection, or is TV just reflecting what is happening in the world outside?

One network argument goes the other way, the catharsis argument, that the viewer watching an act of violence is purged of any desire to commit that act.

Perhaps, but is the Ford Motor Co. paying out millions to have viewers all over America purged of their desire to drive a Lincoln?

The TV audience watches 8 minutes of commercials per hour, and rushes out to buy. TV is the best sales agent in the history of mass media.

Do the other 52 minutes of each hour have no effect on the viewer? Of course, they do. Television not only sells, it teaches, the teaching being a byproduct of the sales.

What does TV violence teach? Basically, it teaches a number of lies. It teaches that violence on the part of the good guys is necessary, sanitary, largely without emotional consequence, omnipresent, and a highly effective way of solving problems.

This type of violence offers something for everybody. Even for the bad guys, the losers, the rejects of our society who are offered television tableaux of kidnappings, skyjacking, mass terror in which the reject forces society to notice him, to tremble before him until he goes out in the final holocaust which he ardently desires.

Television violence makes paranoids of us all. It reverses the golden rule to read, "Get the other guy before he gets you."

Do the writers then favor the banishment of violence from television? No. We do not favor the banishment of any aspect of living from television.

What we do ask and demand is that we, as writers, be allowed to deal with violence as it really is, and that we be allowed to deal with all aspects of society as they really are, were, and could be.

The great sin of television is that of triviality, of [illegible] mindlessness, the cartoon wrappers around the bubble gum [illegible] novels, great plays, have been written about an act of violence [illegible] the consequences flowing from that act. Picking up a weapon against a fellow human being is not a trivial act, not a desirable act, and is an act which creates more problems than it solves.

Watching a play built around the consequences of an act of violence can be cathartic, in the Greek tragedy sense. Watching television used as an audience grabber, a seller of products, is debasing to the viewer and to our society.

In a slightly different context, use made of sex by network television is analogous to the use made of violence. I see no peril in the portrayal of sex. I do see peril to interpersonal relationships in the trivialization of sex, if used as the pusher of product.

Emotional consequences surround any act of sex. Its symbolism is deeply embedded in our rituals from primitive times up to the present.

Sex on television is trivial, exploitative, is often linked with violence, but almost never linked with love. Again, we are debased by what is being shown and deprived by what is not being shown.

There is a general sense, a general feeling abroad in the land today that our society has lost its way. Our youth, at least, feel no strong links with the past, no great affection for the present, and no great hope for the future.

We can identify our problems, but we cannot solve them, perhaps because we have no means of examining them. Historically, from the time of the Greeks and even before, the theater has been society's great mirror in which the people looked at themselves, their values, and their problems.

Television has become our theater today. Its impact and its penetration is greater by far than any other media. It has become, for better or worse, our culture. Its potential for good and for harm is immense.

Violence on television today is a major problem. I would hope that inquiries of this sort, coupled with aroused public opinion, will bring about a lessening of that violence.

The violence on television will recur, as it has many times in the past, as long as the network power structure remains unchanged, as long as we permit "programing in the public interest" to be entirely subordinated to the selling of soap.

Thank you.

Mr. RUSSO. Thank you very much, Mr. Powell. It is a shame that a lot of network people are not here to hear your comments. It would be interesting to have a dialog between you and the network people about what actually happens because of the criticisms that we received from the Writers' Guild would be that the power lies with the network and then we listen to network people who tell us that it is the writers who keep sending up violent material and they do not want us to infringe upon their first amendment rights. What is your solution to the problem?

Mr. POWELL. My solution is to stop regarding the present system of television as sacrosanct. It is nowhere written in the Constitution that television belongs to the three major networks. There are alternatives and I would hope that this body would be exploring them. I know you are.

Mr. RUSSO. Do you have any suggestions?

Mr. POWELL. Yes, public television, which has been starved by government for years, should be adequately funded to be a decent, competitive factor in television.

Mr. RUSSO. And cable?

Mr. POWELL. Cable, too.

There are many other things which can be done but not if you continue to consider the networks as the power and ask them to reduce violence, for instance. Of course they will promise to reduce violence—and for awhile, they will—but they are not really interested in violence, or lack of violence. What they are interested in is making money and exclusively interested in making money. As I said, what they put on is only a byproduct of making money and——

Mr. RUSSO. So what you are saying, whatever the mood is at the time, whatever makes the most money for the networks, that is what they will put on television, whether it is violence, whether it is sex, whether it is sports or whatever type of programing there is. If that is what is earning the most money, that is what they are having the writers prepare.

Mr. POWELL. That is exactly right.

Mr. RUSSO. Mr. Wirth?

Mr. WIRTH. Thank you very much. Your testimony was delightful. Again, I am sorry that the network people were not here.

I think you heard Mr. Russo's discussion and other discussions earlier with the networks about who is telling whom to do what in terms of programing. I can remember talking to David Rintels last fall in which he very adamantly claimed just the contrary of what the networks were suggesting today, that, in fact, the dictate is coming from the networks and coming from the advertisers, the bubble gum people.

Do you have any—when Mr. Russo was asking about any documentation the network might have, is that important or is that just a known fact that this is coming from them?

Mr. Powers. Well, I think if you read Mr. Panitt's series in TV Guide which is running currently, he documents pretty well what happens in the creation of programs and it is in the creation of programs where the power lies.

Once you have created a program with two cops, as I said, the die is cast. That is going to be a violent show. Violence is coming in there because there is nothing else that is going to sustain viewer interests.

The networks are in on creation from the first day. They pay for the pilot, they pay for the pilot script, they choose the writers, they choose the actors, they choose the directors, they even choose the producers. They have absolute control, not only from the start, but all the way down the line. And with that sort of control, it is absolutely silly for them to claim that violence is coming from the writers.

Now, you will not find memos from the networks asking writers to send more violence. That is handed down verbally and the euphemism is, we need more action. But no memos, no.

But everybody knows what it means, that there must be more violence to pick up the interest because it is a terribly pallid show without it, and the characters are cardboard and nobody will watch it if you do not kill a few more people.

Mr. Wirth. You stated at the end of your statement that the network power structure remains unchanged, or nothing is going to happen until the network power structure does change.

What can the Writers' Guild do about changing that? How can you have a greater impact in changing the content of television?

Mr. Powers. About the only way we can do it is to testify at hearings like this and to take our case before the public.

We did bring about the suit against the family hour, which was directed against the conjunction of network power and FCC power, we felt illegally, and we were upheld by the judge. But largely it is out of our control. It is in the control of FCC, it is in the control of Congress, to provide opportunities for real competition.

It has been stated here that there is Gresham's law that bad programing drives out good. I do not subscribe to that. It has never been proven.

The only thing that is demonstrable is that if there are three bad programs to watch, possibly the viewer will watch the most exciting one of the three. But if there is a reasonable alternative, I am sure the American public is going to turn to the reasonable alternative, something with human values, something really examining our problems today—and they are multiple, as you know very well.

Mr. Wirth. Let us say I tend to agree with about everything you said, and I have a sense that what happens is that we get diverted or the Congress gets diverted by all kinds of smokescreens related to all kinds of first amendment issues, which are very real issues, but we never get beyond that and talk about how important hearings like this can be or how important a license renewal can be, or how important competition, broadening public television, having cable come in, having competition with the networks, all of which can be designed to ease the really, I think, almost absurd situation we are in now in terms of the bubble gum wrappers on the tube.

Mr. Powell. Yes, I think so, and I think the public face the networks put on in hearings like this is a very innocuous face, eager to do everything in the public interest, but behind the scenes, what they are really working for is to keep away competition.

They will lobby very vociferously and effectively against public television—they always have, and they will—and against pay television. And they are, as you know, a very potent political force.

What they say here is neither here nor there. They want to debate upon whether a push that Danny gave Marie is going to be entered into the logs as violence which, of course, everybody knows is not the problem.

Mr. Wirth. Thank you, Mr. Powell.

Mr. Russo. Mr. Markey?

Mr. Markey. Have you ever been requested by a network official, or somebody who had been instructed by a network official to pepper a script with additional incidents of violence that might make the program more salable?

Mr. Powell. Not directly, or not for a long time, because I work on a relatively low level. I am a writer, period, pretty much of the time. I am not generally a story editor, although I am now, and it comes down to me filtered.

I did make a contract to do a script on "Switch" this past fall and after we worked out the story and I was paid for the story, the contract was canceled because the network had decided that they wanted a straight action show, they did not want the main characters pulling con man guises, which was the original premise of "Switch." So the story was never done.

That is a fairly recent example.

Mr. Markey. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Russo. Mr. Gore?

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You talk about this process of the request for more action. You are saying that that is a kind of a code word, right?

Mr. Powell. Right.

Mr. Gore. Is there any relationship between the timing of the action segments and the commercial breaks? I am just interested; I do not know.

Mr. Powell. Well, generally on an hour show, you have a break every 15 minutes, so ideally your script should come up to a high peak every 15 minutes for a lead into the commercial, and the high peak is almost invariably a violent act.

Mr. Gore. Have the specific requests that you talk about filtering down to you ever been framed in that context, a specific request for more action immediately prior to a commercial break?

Mr. Powell. Well, that is one of those things that are understood. Nobody has to really sit down and explain that to you if you have really been in the business more than 6 months. That is just understood and you work on those things. You work on a story with a story editor and generally that is the format you are going to come up with.

Mr. Gore. If you would help me, I would appreciate it, to understand more clearly why you and other writers are so adamantly opposed to the family viewing hour.

Mr. POWERS. We are opposed to it because it was Government censorship linked with the three networks, all acting in collusion, acting together, which we claimed was unconstitutional, and the judge agreed with us. Further than that, as Dr. Gerbner pointed out this morning, it led to an increase in violence. What you had was mush before 9 and mayhem after it. There was very little diversity.

Mr. GORE. If the Government's role was removed and if it did not have the impact of increasing violence in other hours, would you still have objection to it?

Mr. POWERS. Yes; I would. I think it is censorship and tends, again, to homogenize the material, which is homogenized enough already. During the period of the family hour, the networks were all looking, not for a good show—they were looking for a family show, and the family shows that they came up with were almost all disasters, even in a disaster-prone industry such as television. It was a total wipeout.

What I am saying is, the networks must be competed with so they will have to look for good shows and give writers and actors and directors a say in the production of these shows rather than totally dictate the content, totally beat it down to the lowest common denominator, totally reduce it to cartoon strips.

Mr. GORE. I see what you are getting at, but it just seems to me that if some of these concerns could be taken care of, it seems to me like a good idea to set aside certain times during the day when parents can know that their children will be able to watch television without being presented material that they are not emotionally old enough to deal with.

If you had more leeway from the network people, could the Writers Guild live with that kind of framework, that here, you will have more freedom but try to avoid scenes that would be difficult for a young child to emotionally handle?

Mr. POWERS. I think the guideline should be what a child is geared to understand. I do not think that a child can emotionally handle meaningless violence. He cannot understand it, and neither can I.

There has been, historically, from radio days guidelines that the programs which are more adult should be put on at a later hours, but when you make absolute rules about these things, then you throw out a lot of good things for children, along with the bad, and that is the danger.

Mr. GORE. Well, you have contributed to my understanding and I thank you for it.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. Powell, I have a few questions for you.

One of the questions I asked the broadcasters earlier was, if they ever sent letters to the programers to let them know that their scripts contained too much violence. Have you ever received a letter, or do you know of the existence of a letter, that was sent to the programers or writers, that said there is not enough violence. Punch it up a little for us.

Mr. POWERS. Well, I think you are looking for the smoking gun which does not exist, because the networks have been in this business a long, long time and they do not write letters like that.

Mr. BROWN. Are you aware of that type of a practice?

Mr. POWERS. Pardon me?

Mr. Rogers. Are you aware of that kind of practice, rather than being done by letter, by word of mouth?

Mr. Freeman. Right.

Mr. Rogers. Does that exist?

Mr. Freeman. Yes, it does.

Mr. Rogers. Let me just say that one of the things you seem to be talking about is giving the viewing public more diversity. Would the program creators be able to handle that? Is there enough imagination out there to be able to handle a more diverse type of programming?

Mr. Freeman. Well, let me put it the other way. I do not think there is a writer in television who is fully writing up to his potential, because the potential is just not there in the format that we have been given.

The only way to find out if the writers are there is to give us more to work with, more leeway to work with, and if we as television writers cannot do it, they will go to Broadway, they will go to films, and they will get people who can.

Mr. Rogers. One of the comments we get from the broadcasters is that there is not enough good programming out there for them to choose from. I would take it that you do not agree?

Mr. Freeman. I would agree with it, because what they are picking is their own work. They are responsible for the programming. They are the ones who take an idea and beat it out of shape.

It is impossible for a producer, for instance, to make a pilot on his own and sell it on his own to the network. That is not done. It cannot be done, because——

Mr. Rogers. Well, they do not do pilots anymore as I understand it. What they do is world premieres, so they do not lose as much money. They actually get the showing off it, so they do not really lose the money. The old pilot theory is not there anymore, because a pilot——

Mr. Freeman. No, that is not true, because one of the networks I saw just recently in the trades made 37 new pilots this year.

Mr. Rogers. Are they going to be shown on television? Because pilots may not see the light of day, whereas world premieres are shown, they do get a certain amount of dollars for it, and then if you can it, you can it, but at least you made some money on the front end.

Mr. Freeman. Well, they can call it a world premiere or whatever they want to call it, but actually it is a dog that they could not sell.

Mr. Rogers. Right, but at least they try to get some money for it anyway.

One of the problems that the committee is faced with, Mr. *Freeman*, is that we have comments made by the various witnesses from the networks—and I am sure you were sitting back there chomping at the bit, wishing you could jump in there and refute some of the things—and vice versa, I am sure they would like to be here to refute some of the things you said.

This type of format, although it does serve a purpose, I think is not as constructive as it would be if we were sitting here right now and you were stating your position and the networks were sitting next to you and arguing with you back and forth so the committee would be able to observe it, and then get a better chance at understanding exactly where the truth really lies.

As far as I stand right now, you blame the broadcasters and the broadcasters blame you, so we are still at an impasse.

Mr. Powell. Well, Mr. Russo, you are, in effect, the jury. You have had courtroom experience. You know that both sides are represented and the jury has to make up its mind. This committee is the jury.

Mr. Russo. I understand that, and it is easier to be able to understand the demeanor of a witness when it is an adversary proceeding rather than the way it is here where each one gets to tell their side of the story.

Maybe in the future the committee will be able to construct a panel with writers and programers on one side and networks on the other so we can benefit from the give and take.

I want to thank you very much, Mr. Powell. I apologize for taking so long. We certainly appreciated your testimony.

Mr. Powell. Thank you, and thank the committee.

Mr. Russo. Our next witness is Ted Carpenter, the executive director of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting.

We are finding out who has more endurance. Mr. Carpenter is still here.

STATEMENT OF TED CARPENTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR BROADCASTING

Mr. Carpenter. Thank you.

I want to thank the members of the committee for allowing me to testify for the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, and I think at the late hour, I am beginning to understand what it is like to be a public service announcement on the Late, Late Show.

I think that networks have given good evidence that they know well how to dominate prime time. But when we get into the latter hours of the evening and the smaller audiences, they tend to disappear.

Mr. Russo. What is important is that the audience that sits up here is still around.

Mr. Carpenter. It is, and I appreciate that.

One of the things I wanted—and I think it is significant, too; I think it is a point well worth raising. I recall the chairman of the NAB talking at length of the cares to which they go to hear from the public, both at the local level and the national level. It is a prime responsibility of broadcasters. And I think this is an important hearing. I think the oversight responsibility that is being carried out here on a very important public issue, and one that is important to the broadcasters, is of some significance.

Mr. Russo. Well, when I see them tomorrow night, I will ask them why they did not think that the testimony after theirs was significant enough for them to hear it.

Mr. Carpenter. I think it is a question worth asking.

The main thing I wanted to bring up, in terms of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, and I think the one element that we have brought into the argument about violence that maybe has not been brought in before, is that we have decided, as many people have said today, there has been study after study, there have been appeals to the conscience, people have raised the issue time after time, and when we decided to enter into the issue, we thought that we had to introduce a new element, or we did not see that there would be that much more progress.

We decided that we ought to, perhaps, rather than make appeals to Government action with all of our concerns about first amendment principles and censorship and the regulatory issues involved, that we ought to try a marketplace notion about influencing what is happening in the industry.

As we began to look at that marketplace, we began to be much more concerned about the role of the advertiser in all of this. I think it is an element of the operation of the broadcasting industry that has not been raised too much today.

Mr. RUSSO. That is why we invited you, Mr. Carpenter.

Mr. CARPENTER. Our main role has been using the applied research of Dr. Gerbner and his associates with some support from the American Medical Association. This fall we did a study for 12 weeks and ranked all of the programing in prime time from the least to the most violent and all of the advertisers who supported that programing during prime time.

I think it is of no little significance that, since that ranking was released, 9 of the 12 most violent advertisers that we named in our study have made public statements to the effect that they are either changing their policy, strengthening their policy, or creating a policy about their sponsorship of violence and its association with violence on prime time programing.

We think that has been in no small measure—the testimony that I have submitted to you, I have not only submitted the rankings, but an article in Broadcasting magazine which says, "Networks think it's for real as advertisers scramble for antiviolence bandwagon. It's apparent things are going to change, and fast."

The important role that the advertiser plays is something that we often get confused about and I think there is a lot of confusion here, even today, as we talk about who is primarily responsible. The 1934 Communications Act says it is the local affiliate, the licensee, yet we find ourselves spending so much time trying to influence the networks, which are only in the owned-and-operated case licensees.

We find ourselves, when we are really trying to have impact on the problem of violence in television, suddenly confronting the advertiser, which also does not have a license responsibility, yet it appears certainly in this case, to have a great influence.

I think it raises an issue—again, following the lead of the Writer's Guild, when you find yourself in a late hour with an audience that if you can put things in the form of a story, it might help to illuminate things—I think it raises a principle which I have come to refer to as "The Media Wizard of Oz." I think we have seen good evidence of it today.

There are many statements, particularly by the networks, that "You just do not understand how complicated this is, how difficult it is, to carry out the responsibilities of broadcasting." We have often been given dazzling displays of the hardware that is involved with microwave transmissions and satellite technology, affiliate relationships and the advertising dollars to fuel this enterprise, that this is just something that is beyond the expertise of the members of the Communications Subcommittee in particular, or the public in general, to have any influence on.

It is what I have heard characterized as the "Media Wizard of Oz" attitude about what the broadcasters can and cannot do.

As I recall that movie, I remember what happened when Dorothy and the Tin Man and the Scarecrow walked in at the end of the Yellow Brick Road and finally had their audience with the great Oz. And the great Oz turned out to be a formidable and mystifying figure on a huge television screen who bellowed with absolute authority, "Who are you, to challenge the great Oz and what business do you have to influence my relationship to you or other people?"

I think that is very typical of some of the arguments that broadcasters use. We often cringe at that. We often cringe at the first amendment concerns and things that are raised somewhat as a screen. People have been talking about a smokescreen today.

I remember, speaking of screens, a very important principle from the movie "The Wizard of Oz," and I call it the Toto principle. I remember Toto—he was the little dog with the instinct for the jugular and the unquenchable curiosity who could not help but pull back the curtain behind the big Oz on the television screen.

Who was there? A huckster, an entrepreneur, a seller of patent medicines, in effect, an advertiser. And I think that NCCB's role in the violence argument is to demonstrate that we must get behind the screen a little bit as to who is responsible.

We were not just concerned about where the dial stops, which is what we are often told by the networks. It is true that you can just turn the TV off. But it is a much more complex problem than that. You have to be concerned with where the buck stops. As we investigated the problem, we found that the buck stops with the advertiser.

There are certain—you know, the advertisers have been about as embarrassed as that old seller of patent medicines in the movie and have made statements to that effect. I quote one quickly from Robert Lund, who is the vice president of General Motors and general manager of the Chevrolet Division—Chevrolet was the No. 1, the most violent advertiser in our study.

He said: "The time is at hand when society is beginning to demand higher standards from many of its institutions." Lund also went on to say that: "We've got to go beyond ratings, beyond market share, beyond pragmatism. Advertising today has the power to help shape the quality of life. Our strategies of communications must put tremendous emphasis on both integrity and innovation. The creation of powerful advertising is not an end in itself."

We think that is an important principle to raise. We think it is appropriate to question the role of advertising in the process. As the Writers' Guild has mentioned, what are the forces that interfere with the free marketplace? Not just the merchandising of products on television. That is one marketplace of television and one that is appropriate for a licensee. But there is also a free marketplace of ideas. There is a free marketplace of artistry. There is a free marketplace of programing.

To what extent is the advertiser influence with local affiliates and with the networks helping or hindering that process? And isn't it revealing and significant that to get a real change taking place on the violence issue, one of the elements we had to introduce was the role of the advertiser. And with the influence of the advertiser, we began to see some increase in the kinds of action and the kind of change that takes place.

It is a troubling victory for us. We are very concerned about some of the implications of having to use blunt, economic muscle. That, and the petition to deny, are one of the few instruments open to the public. They are often very blunt instruments.

It is like the 2 by 4 and the mule trying to get their attention, just to raise what is often a very delicate and very important issue.

We would hope that what this raises—people talk about "Roots" as a good example of TV programing. Did that have violence? But of course. It should lead us to realize that violence is not a problem. Violence is a symptom.

The problem is that television, as it is now constituted, has failed to live up to our best expectations. It is appealing, not to our values, but primarily to our pocketbooks. As the rewrite of the Communications Act and a reassessment of communications policy goes on, we hope that maybe the public ought to have more direct influence when there is a wide consensus such as the violence issue has had for many years. It took very blunt nationwide activity in order to bring about reasonable and even small amounts of change and we cannot even, as you can see by the statements today, guarantee that yet.

It is just incremental. Perhaps there ought to be more reasonable avenues for public influence. Perhaps the marketplace of ideas, programs and creativity should be protected and stimulated by regulatory and governmental policy—not just the marketplace of merchandising products, which seems to dominate the networks.

Thank you.

[Mr. Carpenter's prepared statement and attachments follow:]

STATEMENT OF TED CARPENTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR BROADCASTING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMUNICATIONS OF THE HOUSE INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE COMMITTEE
MARCH 2, 1977

THE MEDIA WIZARD OF OZ

Chairman Van Deerlin and members of the Subcommittee, I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to testify with regard to television violence.

The issue of violence on television has occupied this country for many years. When NCCB decided to confront the issue, we felt that something different had to be done. We saw that all the research, public appeals and government jawboning had not had significant impact, on the broadcasting industry. We concluded that it was time to confront the broadcaster on his own cherished turf—the marketplace.

Using the services of bi associates, a commercial television monitoring firm, and the definition of violence developed by Dr. George Gerbner, NCCB designed and carried out two studies of prime time television violence in the summer and fall of 1976. The fall study was conducted with the support of the American Medical Association. Our studies ranked programs, networks and advertisers according to the amount of violence they supported.

It is certainly no coincidence that in recent weeks nine of the twelve "most violent" advertisers named in our study have publicly announced their intention to shift their advertising away from unnecessary violence. Many other advertisers are joining this bandwagon. NBC, the "most violent" network in our studies, has also announced that it will dramatically reduce the level of violence in its programming. These actions are not just the result of our studies, but of the combined action of many groups. Rather than go into detail, however, I would rather dwell on the significance and meaning of this marketplace strategy to confront the problem of television violence.

One clue to our success came to me during a recent training seminar for interns at the Alternate Media Center. Before my turn came to explain what public interest groups could do to influence media, we were presented a dazzling slide show by an industry consultant who pointed out the vast complexity of the modern media industry with its satellites, microwave, fiber optics, cable, and the many millions of advertising dollars it takes to fuel such a formidable enterprise. The logical implication was, "Who are we to try to influence such a process?" As I pondered the hidden question, Ted Conant, a fellow panelist, leaned over and said, "That's what I call the Media Wizard of Oz."

The Media Wizard of Oz—that seemed to be a perfect analogy. How many of us remember when Dorothy, the Tin Man, the Scarecrow, and the Cowardly Lion finally reached their destination—an audience with the Great Wizard. And who was the Great Oz? No less than a mystifying and formidable figure on a TV screen who bellowed with absolute authority, "Who are you to challenge the Great Oz?"

How many of us have rattled and shook like the Tin Man or put our tail between our legs like the Cowardly Lion in the face of the Great Broadcasting Industry when it claims it knows full well what it can do for us already, thank you, and who are we to challenge their authority or freedom to fill the screens and the living rooms they occupy with whatever suits their purpose? Well, that *is* all very well and good, I said (which is sort of what Dorothy said) but I am another one of those people who expect something more of the big screen. Besides, I couldn't help remembering one of the most important principles from that fascinating old movie.

The Toto Principle

Remember Toto?—the little dog whose instinct for the jugular and unquenchable curiosity led him to pull back the curtain behind the big screen? What did he find? Who was the Great Oz?—a simple huckster, an entrepreneur, a seller of patent medicines—to wit, an advertiser who was manipulating the magic screen for his own personal benefit.

And isn't that the point really of the NCCB violence rankings? In spite of all that the broadcasters have said about the unsolvable problem of television violence, NCCB's violence study simply pulled back the screen to reveal the advertisers who were manipulating the TV images, including violence, in order to promote and sell their products. The advertisers certainly have been about as embarassed and uncomfortable about this sudden exposure as that half lovable old seller of patent medicines in the movie. And it is revealing that the limelight has forced the advertisers to confront the very human values (whatever their vested interest) that Dorothy and her friends represented to Oz.

The AdvertOZer Response

A most revealing response to our advertiser rankings was recently given by Robert D. Lund, a Vice President of General Motors and General Manager of the Chevrolet Division (Chevrolet was the most violent advertiser in our fall study). He said, "The time is at hand when society is beginning to demand higher standards from many of its institutions." Lund also went on to say that, "We've got to go beyond ratings, beyond market share, beyond pragmatism. Advertising today has the power to help shape the quality of life. Our strategies of communications must put a tremendous emphasis on both integrity and innovation. The creation of powerful advertising is not an end in itself." Such a statement is a powerful admission from this nation's number two television advertiser in terms of spending.

Lund is clearly raising the issue that corporate policy makers in television or in any other industry are finding it harder to divorce their profit maximization from more fundamental human, social, and community values at a time when our economic system and its resources are facing serious tests and fundamental challenges. These issues have been raised in a broader context by the recent report on Environmental Policy, *The Unfinished Agenda*, issued by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation and a consortium of national environmental interest groups.

The report casts a glancing, but convincing light on the role of television as a shaper of values that is urging indiscriminate consumption at a time when the national agenda points to the necessity of conservation.

"Roots"

Of course, an underlying assumption of such a point of view assumes that television can respond to positive community values, and any discussion of television values can't ignore the phenomenon of the production of ABC's "Roots" and its impact on the American community. Rather than elaborate, I think it is useful to simply provide a "quote without comment" from an article by William Grieder in the *Washington Post*.

> "Roots" has glorious implications for the future of the nation, an obvious suggestion that the self-enriching process that built the American culture out of many remains alive and inventive. "Roots" is a little frightening, too, as a dramatic example of how our mass mythologies can be defined or altered so effectively, so swiftly by a small number of citizens, the people who control television broadcasting.
>
> The social implications become clearer and more impressive, if one assumes the worst about those TV people,if we assign the most cynical motives to their endeavor. Assume ABC did not gamble on "Roots" out of some deep yearning to promote racial justice, but from a deep yearning to sell soap and hamburgers to the largest possible audience. Assume also that these TV people know what they're doing, if not as artists or historians, as packagers of massive audiences, as manipulators of images that draw people to their TV sets.
>
> In that sense, the profound social message of the "Roots" phenomenon is contained in this simple fact: white America did not switch to another channel.
>
> This is the American story, "Roots" proclaim[s], in every qualitative dimension. This story of slaves struggling for freedom is the orthodox story of American values. Their virtues—courage, honor, family, mercy—are the American virtues, the ones we need to believe in as Americans. In short, the dramatic marvel of "Roots" is that it allows white Americans to watch that terrible racial history and instead of consuming guilt, they are encouraged to say to themselves—hey—that's my story too.

It is important to note that "Roots" was not without its scenes of considerable and graphic violence. On balance, however, the protrayal of sex and violence largely contributed to our understanding of the essential history of black and white America. Such a conclusion should lead us to remember that the issue of violence that now occupies our most immediate attention is not the most critical media issue. Violence is often necessary to a dramatic statement. It is essential to the understanding of the day's news events. Its misuse is a symptom—not the problem. The problem is the larger failure of television to live up to our best expectations, and its failure to appeal to our values and not just our pocketbooks. To those that continue to say, "Who are you to challenge the Great Broadcasting Industry?" We say, remember the Toto Principle. Remember the instinct, the curiosity, the values, and the needs of television's viewing audience.

A Troubling Victory

As a final note, if indeed our activities have led to a resolution in television violence—and it will take our coming spring and fall violence studies along with Dr. Gerbner's in-depth studies to determine if such a reduction takes place—one would think we would want to celebrate a clear public interest victory in television's own marketplace. However, as much as we will continue to press this successful strategy, we are equally troubled by some of its implications.

It is genuinely troubling that an issue that has had broad consensus for many years required a major national effort with the threat of economic muscle to get a concession from the industry. It is troubling that such efforts have to skirt the very edges of potential censorship in order to get more diverse and meaningful programming from broadcasters. It is troubling that by surfacing the hidden muscle of the advertiser to get less violence, that same hidden muscle could be encouraged to advocate less of everything but the most mindless, non-controversial pap for television fare instead of more meaningful alternatives in television services.

It is troubling that legislative and regulatory policy has done much to protect, guarantee and even stimulate the economic marketplace of broadcasting, where audiences are freely bought by advertisers who use programs to sell products. It is our understanding of that marketplace, in fact, that has changed the industry approach to violence. What has been lost in all of this; however, is the role of the legislative and regulatory policy to give the audience avenues other than blunt economic muscle to protect its own interests in these all-pervasive public airwaves. Rather than dwelling on violence, our troubled victory leads us to hope for legislative and regulatory policy that would encourage a diversity of services by broadcasters to the Americam community. As the Subcommittee on Communications begins its inquiry into the Communications Act rewrite, perhaps due consideration should be given to providing more open channels of communication and influence between broadcasters and the audiences they are licensed to serve. Perhaps legislative and regulatory policy should not only consider the economic marketplace, but should protect, guarantee and even stimulate a free marketplace of ideas, information and programs between audiences and broadcasters as an essential element in this country's communications process.

Thank you. o

YOU are the one who can temper violence on television.

But only if you make your opinions heard where it counts. Here's how…

On the following pages, you'll find the results of the intensive monitoring study conducted over a 12-week period last fall by the **National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting.** The purpose of the study was to make you and other citizens aware of how much violence is actually shown on television—and more importantly, how you can take important steps that will cut down on that violence.

You will find listings of (1) advertisers who sponsor the most violent programs on prime time television (2) advertisers who sponsor the least violent programs (3) the ranking of all prime time network programs from the most to the least violent, and (4) the names and addresses of sponsors and networks to whom you can write.

Television is a commercial medium. Its advertisers are trying to reach you, the consumer. And when you exert your consumer power ... when you let a company executive know that you disapprove (or approve) of the type of programming his company is supporting with its advertising ... and when you let a television network official know that you don't want to watch unnecessary violence on television ... you are taking important action to improve the quality of programs you and your family watch.

This action gets results. Advertisers are already responding to consumers raising their voices against violence and are removing their support from programs dominated by violence. But we have a long way to go. Make *your* voice heard today.

Advertiser Ranking

[illegible]

LEAST VIOLENT SPONSORS

Rank	Sponsor	Rating
1	[illegible] Candy	3
2	Hallmark	6
3	Texaco	10
4	[illegible]	11
5	Prudential Insurance	17
6	[illegible]	19
7	[illegible]	20
8	Green Giant Vegetables	32
9	Keebler Cookies	43
10	Carnation Dog Foods	50
11	Kleenex	54
11	Quasar Television	54

MOST VIOLENT SPONSORS

Rank	Sponsor	Rating
1	Chevrolet Cars	521
2	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	American Motors Cars	[illegible]
4	Sears Roebuck & Company	417
5	Eastman Kodak Products	380
6	Schlitz Beer	356
7	Procter & Gamble Soaps	350
8	General Foods Food Products Division	341
9	Burger King Corporation	315
10	Frito-Lay Incorporated	303
11	Mr. Coffee Coffee Maker	[illegible]
12	Campbell Soup Company	[illegible]

Movie Rankings

LEAST TO MOST VIOLENT

Rank	Network	Movie	Rating	Rank	Network	Movie	Rating
1	CBS	Wednesday Movie	38	5	NBC	Sunday Movie	71
2	NBC	*Wednesday Movie	48	6	CBS	Friday Movie	80
3	NBC	Monday Movie	53	7	NBC	Saturday Movie	101
4	ABC	Friday Movie	67	8	ABC	Sunday Movie	109

Notes

[illegible]

[illegible]

Program Ranking

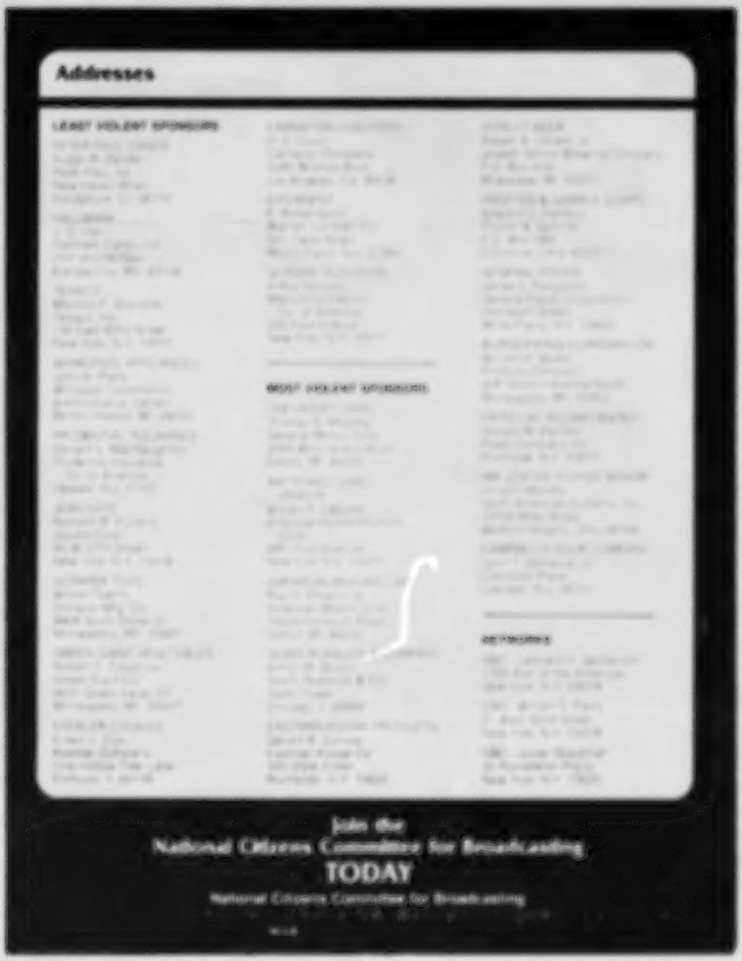
The following is a complete ranking of all prime time network programming from the most to the least violent shown during the monitoring period.

	Network	Rating
CPO Sharkey	NBC	0
McLean Stevenson	NBC	0
Doc	CBS	0
Sirota's Court	NBC	0
Mr. T & Tina	ABC	0
Ball Four	CBS	0
Phyllis	CBS	0
Mary Tyler Moore	CBS	0
Bob Newhart Show	CBS	0
Chico & the Man	NBC	0
All's Fair	CBS	0
Alice	CBS	1
Rhoda	CBS	1
The Tony Randall Show	ABC	1
Barney Miller	ABC	1
Welcome Back Kotter	ABC	1
What's Happening	ABC	1
Maude	CBS	2
The Practice	NBC	2
Sanford & Son	NBC	3
The Jeffersons	CBS	3
One Day At a Time	CBS	3
All in the Family	CBS	3
The Nancy Walker Show	ABC	4
Gibbsville	NBC	4
The Waltons	CBS	5
Good Times	CBS	6
M*A*S*H	CBS	7
Executive Suite	CBS	7
Happy Days	ABC	7
Tony Orlando & Dawn	CBS	7
Little House on the Prairie	NBC	8
Donny & Marie	ABC	9
Family	ABC	10
Laverne & Shirley	ABC	11
Once an Eagle	NBC	11
The Captain & Tennille	ABC	12
Rich Man, Poor Man	ABC	13
Sonny & Cher	CBS	16
Carol Burnett Show	CBS	17
Emergency	NBC	17
Wonder Woman	ABC	18
Blue Knight	CBS	19
Holmes & Yoyo	ABC	20
Captain & the Kings	NBC	21
Gemini Man	NBC	25
Dick Van Dyke	NBC	26
Wonderful World of Disney	NBC	28
Spencer's Pilots	CBS	29
Switch	CBS	30
McC/Colum/Quincy/McM	NBC	31
Bionic Woman	ABC	33
Streets of San Francisco	ABC	38
Barnaby Jones	CBS	38
Rockford Files	NBC	45
Police Woman	NBC	47
Charlie's Angels	ABC	48
Most Wanted	ABC	48
Serpico	NBC	51
Delvecchio	CBS	52
Police Story	NBC	52
Kojak	CBS	52
Six Million Dollar Man	ABC	54
Hawaii Five-O	CBS	60
Baa Baa Black Sheep	NBC	65
Baretta	ABC	65
Starsky & Hutch	ABC	69
Quest	NBC	86

Network Rankings

The networks were ranked according to the total violence contained in their prime time programming during the study period. CBS is the least violent network with ABC second and NBC the most violent.

Network	Rating	Network	Rating	Network	Rating
CBS	9.67	ABC	11.11	NBC	14.19



Addresses

LEAST VIOLENT SPONSORS

[illegible]

MOST VIOLENT SPONSORS

[illegible]

NETWORKS

[illegible]

Join the
National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting
TODAY

National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting

[illegible]

[From Broadcasting, Feb. 14]

TOP OF THE WEEK—NETWORKS THINK IT'S FOR REAL AS ADVERTISERS SCRAMBLE FOR ANTIVIOLENCE BANDWAGON

IT'S APPARENT THINGS ARE GOING TO CHANGE, AND FAST; BUT WAY IS [illegible]

A rising chorus of advertisers publicly disassociating themselves from "violent" television programing in the last few weeks finds many broadcasters apparently convinced it will lead to much less TV violence.

Or, as one network executive said last week, "It will at least hasten the day." He meant that efforts to curtail violence had started before the recent wave of advertiser criticism, but that the advertisers' voices should add momentum to the movement.

Sources at all three networks said there was "some activity" among advertisers in moving out of some programs into others, although they would offer no details. Some agency executives said they were having to spend a good deal of time on the problem, but they, too, declined to give specifics.

Eastman Kodak, General Motors' Chevrolet division and Sears, Roebuck & Co. have all announced antiviolence advertising policies within the past 10 days. And after the American Medical Association announced it had asked 10 big advertisers—including those three—to review their advertising policies with an eye toward avoiding violent shows (Broadcasting, Feb. 7), Broadcasting canvassed the 10 and was told by most that they were adopting or considering adopting such a policy—if they didn't already have one, which several said they did.

Network officials queried last week did not challenge the sincerity of advertisers in taking this position. And they thought it was more than a case of "not being against motherhood," although some of that might be involved, too.

"Traditionally," one executive said, "advertisers use media—all media—to sell their products, not to get involved in controversy. When a pressure group comes to them, especially a prestigious one like the AMA, they naturally look at the problem and ask themselves, 'Who needs it?'"

Another official said of the advertiser calls for identification with nonviolent programs: "I think they're for real. They don't know how they're going to do it, but they're going to. I think it's going to change the nature of programing—it will take a while, but it's going to happen. And the PTA [National Parent-Teacher Association] hasn't even started yet."

Another network executive didn't regard the advertiser movement as particularly widespread but felt—as did the others questioned—that further reductions in violence would occur whether advertisers apply pressure or not. "Just because there is so much concern and controversy," one said, "you've already seen a reduction of violence, and I think you'll see a lot less of it next fall and even less in the season after that."

What puzzled many broadcasters was why the advertisers and organizations like the AMA and PTA were concentrating on violence, which has been reduced, and saying little or nothing about the issue of sex, which many think needs much more work than violence. One suggested, however, that "they'll switch to other things later."

Many of the advertisers solicited by the AMA had their own puzzlement: why they were singled out in the first place. The list AMA used consisted of the 10 advertisers identified by the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, on the basis of a NCCB study partially funded by the AMA, as having been associated with more "violent" programing than other advertisers in the first 11 weeks of the 1976-77 season (Broadcasting, Dec. 20, 1976). Some of them seemed piqued with the designation, but only one refused to say what course it might take. That was American Home Products, whose spokesman said "We're keeping to ourselves what we're going to do."

Among the others, reactions included:

At Frito-Lay, National Advertising Manager Bill Jones said "the matter is under study but has not been resolved as yet." He also had a question: "How come we were on the NCCB's 'good' list for the third quarter and on its 'bad' list for the fourth quarter, which is the period when we buy the [illegible]?" He said the company would reply soon to AMA.

A spokesman for Procter and Gamble said the corporation has had a "long-standing" policy opposed to "excessive violence" on programs it sponsors. He noted P&G often has dropped out of segments of series because particular epunless they were considered offensive. P&G, he said, is in the process of formulating a reply to the AMA.

A spokesman for Burger King Corp., said the company long has had a policy of eschewing advertising on programs containing "gratuitous violence." She said, however, that if violence is an integral part of a program and is not exploitative, the show could be considered for an advertising buy. She noted that Burger King is now investing in the Six Million Dollar Man, classified by NCTV as objectionable. Burger King, she continued, places about 60% of its TV budget during the family hours. And she said a reply is being made to the AMA.

Perhaps the most wounded of the advertisers appearing on the NCTV's "bad" list is General Foods. A GF official said that General Foods for a number of years has been in the vanguard of advertisers urging that the incidence of violence on TV be reduced. He recounted that General Foods issued guidelines on Oct. 26, 1970, that opposed programming on TV that showed excessive violence or derogation of race, religion, nationality or sex.

"We're mystified by the listing," he said. "What is the AMA's definition of violence? It must be different from ours."

R. D. Lund, vice president and general manager of the Chevrolet Division of General Motors, said the company has developed a new set of internal guidelines for use in selecting programs on which to advertise (Broadcasting, Feb. 7).

An official of American Motors Corp., said AMC has no plans to issue a formal set of guidelines with respect to TV violence. He added that the company has sent a letter to ABC-TV, CBS-TV and NBC-TV asking them to monitor programs containing violence and keep AMC abreast of developments.

A spokesman for Eastman Kodak said it has been company policy for many years to prescreen programs and avoid participation in excessively violent shows. But because of the heightened interest in the subject, Eastman Kodak has framed a formal policy barring its advertising on programs with "excessive or gratuitous violence" (Broadcasting, Feb. 7).

Another company on the "bad" list, Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago, has reaffirmed and strengthened its corporate policy on the subject. It has notified TV networks and advertising agencies that it will not permit any Sears buys in programs that contain excessive violence and antisocial behavior (Broadcasting, Feb. 7).

And another advertiser, but not on AMA's top-10 list, Union Oil, announced a policy last week that says it will not advertise on TV programs that "feature or unduly emphasize violence or sex."

Mr. [illegible]. Thank you very much.

Are you saying that you think there should be some type of government regulation, or are you advocating that the marketplace set the tone?

Mr. [illegible]. Well, we are obviously advocating the marketplace and feel that we have had great success with it. We do not want to shy away from that, and will continue to do so.

Mr. [illegible]. It is really a shame that the marketplace approach cannot apply in many other areas of government.

Mr. [illegible]. That is right. But I also think that we should not let, again, the nervousness or the concern over first amendment responsibilities get in our way. Remember that the licensee is the local affiliate, not the advertiser.

The last parting comment that the networks were anxious to get in, at the end of their statement, was that "We are also local broadcasters," that "we have owned and operated stations." I think they were trying to get in, in some sense, that that is the only way that they can justify the immense influence that they exercise. But it is one thing to exercise that influence with their own owned and operated stations. It is another thing when they dominate the creative process from start to finish.

That is what the Writers' Guild is saying. That is what the audience is saying. That is what the local affiliates even, are saying. That is what the Westinghouse suit is all about.

I do not think it is necessarily inappropriate for Government to investigate these areas—well, the Ferguson decision investigated the influence of another body outside of the local licensee—in that case, the NAB and the FCC. The Westinghouse suit is challenging whether the networks, another body outside of the local affiliate, are having undue influence.

I am raising the issue that the advertisers, a small group of people outside of the local licensee, have a tremendous influence.

It is not inappropriate for legislative and regulatory policy to examine these areas, and see if there are——

Mr. Rinaldo. It may not be inappropriate to examine it, but it may be inappropriate for our legislation to do something about it.

Mr. Carpenter. That could be. I think it is worth looking into. I am not sure that it has been investigated.

Mr. Rinaldo. Rest assured that we will look into all of the various areas.

Mr. Wirth?

Mr. Wirth. Have not all of you stopped one step short of suggesting a boycott of certain goods?

Mr. Carpenter. Yes, very carefully one step short.

Mr. Wirth. Could you explain why you stopped at that point, or why not just go whole hog and say that these are the people who are encouraging this kind of stuff on television and we should not buy their material?

Mr. Carpenter. Because it is a little too easy, I think, to be accused, a small, citizens committee—and we by no means argue ourselves as being wholly representative of the American audience, or the American people, to go suggesting, or leading, or organizing such concerted activity.

We did feel comfortable releasing a study which showed where the most and least violent programs are. If you like violence, we will show you where to find it. We are not necessarily leading people by the hand and saying what they should do. They could write to the people who are the least violent, and compliment them. They could write to the most violent.

We did provide information, but we did not want to get into a position of suggesting how the public ought to react. We thought that was the unknown factor. If there was concern, then the public ought to react directly with the people who are responsible.

We put both the broadcaster's—the broadcaster's address is here, too, the network addresses are, and the advertiser addresses. We wanted to identify the elements and leave it to the public to make decisions.

Some are doing boycotts, some are doing writing campaigns, some are turning the television off. We feel it should be that kind of a thing. Again, it is a marketplace action.

Mr. Wirth. I certainly think that you and Nick Johnson are to be commended for the work that you and your organization have done. You have certainly added an awful lot of fuel to the fire.

Let me ask you one other question related to this whole area. It seems to me, as I have been getting at this—and you all are much more knowledgeable than I about this—as I observe it, I see that the newspapers are increasingly—and the printed press is increasingly admitting that their role is changing, that the news comes across to people through the Walter Cronkites of this world, and that the printed press is increasingly to be an analyzer, more in-depth, and so on.

There, it seems to me, are surprisingly little attention to television as a phenomenon, that there are not very many people around who are writing what is on television, that there is very little comment except kind of the daily handouts of who is on what program, or what star is having a relationship with somebody else, or whatever it may be, but generally very little analysis other than that.

Have you all looked at that issue at all, or thought about what the role of the printed press is, or other analysis of what the electronic media ought to be?

Mr. [illegible]. May I say that we are extremely sensitive to that problem because that is one of our own barriers in communicating with the public about the issue of television and broadcasting in general. We even had to start our own journal, and not only have a journal but have a newsletter, feeling the need to create our own media.

There are only a handful of serious commentators on the media, most of which, it is true, tend to concentrate on the programs itself, and not the structure of the industry.

It has shocked me. I got into this working primarily in Tennessee in a special video project and when I began, I ran up against the barriers about the lack of public knowledge of what you are trying to do even when you are being successful. It shocked me that there has not been the equivalent of, for instance, the National Citizens' Committee for Broadcasting around for a long time.

You would think that a media that has so much force and influence as it does on the public would naturally generate public bodies of many different groups. NCCB is not very old. We are just an infant. Television criticism is barely existent.

I think we are just beginning to become aware of the extent to which this is—what it is. If you are over 30 and I just make it at 30, you are not necessarily a part of that television generation, but everybody else is. I think we are just beginning to understand the phenomenon.

I remember the first television in my neighborhood and the stir that it created. I was old enough at the time; it was new to me too. But those of us who have just been taking it for granted for years are beginning to realize that that thing is influencing us, it is teaching us, instructing us, it is changing our culture, and if we do not begin to get a handle on it—it is only 30 years old. That says that it is very young for an industry. But yes, I think we are way behind in getting on top, at all levels, of its influence on our lives, and there should be more people around helping us to understand it, print media and otherwise.

Mr. Wirth. It is good to have you kids on the block. Thanks a lot for your help.

Mr. RUSSO. Just to follow up a little bit, maybe you ought to establish a committee called the National Citizens Committee for Newspapers. Maybe you ought to look at the newspapers a little.

Mr. GORE?

Mr. GORE. I wanted to get your reaction to a statement in the presentation of Mr. Schneider, the president of the CBS Broadcast Group, and I meant to ask him about this, but I ran out of time.

He said that unfortunately some have adopted a simplistic approach to an obviously complicated problem. There is, for example, talk of boycotting sponsors of violent programs. We have moved from the scientific to an emotional level. Is he talking about you all, there?

Mr. CARPENTER. Oh, I suspect we are included in that invocation although we have not advocated or talked about boycotts and have carefully avoided doing so.

I do think it comes to a matter of studies and rankings is a simplistic thing, and I think we have never claimed again—although I would stand by the accuracy. I mean, it is not an unreasonable list at all when you start from top to bottom.

I would note, since "Baa, Baa Black Sheep," since that came up in the context of that discussion was among the top 10 most violent shows by both the Gerbner definition and the "CBS definition" which we also employed during the 12 weeks of our second study, precisely because of the criticism that the industry brought upon us.

We said, "All right, we will give that notion a fair test," and the rankings of both the programs and the advertisers varied insignificantly by both standards. If you are violent by one reasonable definition, we are violent by another.

We are talking about degree and proportions of degree, by any reasonable standard, are roughly the same, by both the industry standard and the Gerbner standard.

So we feel that we are on very strong ground, methodologically, and we do not necessarily imply that to be a violent show is to be wrong. We stand by "Roots" as a phenomenon in which sex and violence were essential to understanding basic issues.

We have never advocated that there should be violence on the air. We have never said that. It is essential to a dramatic statement, very often. It is absolutely necessary to understanding the day's news events.

So I think we are perhaps being stereotyped, as television tends to do, but not being understood or thoughtfully analyzed.

Mr. GORE. So actually you would have some agreement with the statement that he has made here?

Mr. CARPENTER. Oh, yes, we think all violence should be viewed in context and we have never said take the top 12 shows and get them off the air. Sure, view them in context.

How does your organization view the attempts by the FCC to regulate broadcasters?

Mr. CARPENTER. Well, we are very active in that area on both sides of the question. As you may or may not know, we filed an amicus brief in the family-viewing-hour suit, and not only our brief, but the testimony of our chairperson, Nicholas Johnson, in his capacity as an ex-FCC Commissioner was important to many parts of that case.

On this very question, we very carefully decided that what we ought to do here is find out ways to influence the industry without resorting to either regulatory or governmental action, and we felt that this was one area where we had to look for those tools and find out where they lay. And we found them, in this case, with the advertiser and the ranking of advertisers and bringing that role out into the open.

So when it is appropriate, we are very active. We had—a case that was just decided yesterday on cross-ownership is our case. We brought that case—that is NCCB versus all those who have a cross-ownership situation and interest.

So we are very active. When we think it is appropriate, we are very active in the regulatory arena, and there is also a lobby indirectly associated with us that is active on the legislative front.

Mr. Gore. If I am not mistaken, the FCC is one of the defendants in that case too, is it not?

Mr. Carpenter. Yes, that is right.

Mr. Gore. Now—may I ask one more question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. Russo. Certainly.

Mr. Gore. What I was leading up to with the previous question is whether or not your organization would like to see any specific changes in the act.

Mr. Carpenter. In the 1934 Communications Act?

Mr. Gore. With permission, if you could supply that for the subcommittee.

Mr. Carpenter. Yes, I will do that. We do have some thoughts.

Mr. Russo. Ted, let me thank you again for coming before the subcommittee. We certainly appreciate the work that your committee is doing, and give my regards to Nick Johnson.

Mr. Carpenter. Thank you for the opportunity.

Mr. Russo. Our next two witnesses are Prof. Bradley Greenberg and Prof. Charles Atken, from Michigan State University.

The subcommittee is glad to see you gentlemen. It has been a long day and we certainly appreciate your spending it with us.

STATEMENT OF PROFS. BRADLEY S. GREENBERG AND CHARLES K. ATKIN, DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. Greenberg. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee. My name is Bradley Greenberg. I am a professor at Michigan State University. My colleague is Prof. Charles Atkin and he will share this presentation with me.

We want to thank you for the opportunity to share some of our research findings with you. We hope that our report is helpful in your exploration of this important public issue. Our findings are based on data from the first year of our project, which is sponsored by the U.S. Office of Child Development. We will describe two sets of findings: An analysis of television content and an assessment of the impact of this content on children. We will focus on violent content and its effects, in this presentation.

Systematic procedures were used to analyze the content of 92 programs representing 68.5 hours on commercial television during the

1975–76 season. The shows included all regular prime time and Saturday morning fictional series. The analysis differs from typical studies of violent television content in three respects and in each of these respects is responsible for some of the criticisms which have been made by the industry with regard to such studies.

First of all, we did not confine ourselves only to physical violence as the sole form of antisocial behavior. Physical aggression included abridgment of one's privacy and physical restraint of one's movement, as well as conventional shooting, hitting, and fighting. In addition, our study analyzed verbal aggression, deceit, cheating, and nonviolent crime. We believe this more fully represents the range of negative behaviors which children may emulate.

Two: Our assessment of antisocial portrayals was accompanied by an equally thorough analysis of prosocial behaviors in the same programs. This allows an evaluation of the balance between negative actions and more positively valued behaviors such as altruism, affection, and expression of concern for others.

Three: The qualitative dimensions of each act were also measured. In particular, the intensity of each behavior was assessed along a highly precise scale, ranging from relatively weak in intensity, to very strong in intensity.

In the time we have here, we wish to identify some of the more socially significant findings from the study. The full report has already been given to your staffs.

Across the television spectrum, there are an average of 42 antisocial acts each hour; almost 1 per minute of actual programing time. Acts of physical aggression occur 15 times per hour. The average television hour also presents 45 prosocial acts. Let us examine how the presence of these behaviors varies across different time periods, different program types, and the different commercial networks. First of all, in terms of comparisons among different time periods, Saturday morning is persistently the most violent and most deceitful time block of programing. Physical aggression is almost twice as high on Saturday morning as for adult prime time.

The family hour does not differ from the later evening hours in overall amount of antisocial behavior. However, there are distinct differences in what kinds of negative acts are portrayed. In the family hour, physical aggression is lower than in the later time period. On the other hand, the family hour has more verbal aggression. Thus the family hour, created in part to minimize violence, did so by transforming the physical manifestations of aggression into verbal forms.

The intensity of physical aggression in the family hour is somewhat lower than for the postfamily hour time slot—intensity rating = 402—the Saturday morning intensity score falls in between in terms of acts of physical aggression. Let us examine program type for a moment.

Cartoons on Saturday morning portray almost three times as much violence as the new genre of live-character children's shows such as "Shazam" and "Isis." In prime-time, the action-crime programs present the highest level of violence with the greatest intensity. In contrast, family dramas such as "The Waltons" display much less physical aggression and situation comedies have the lowest rate of any program category. However, situation comedies have the most pervasive and consistent verbal aggression for children to examine.

In terms of comparison among the three networks who testified today, in our study, ABC television was the most frequent provider of physically aggressive acts—21 such acts per hour of program. There were fewer such acts per hour on CBS, and the least on NBC. CBS and ABC have the most intense acts of physical aggression. The networks were similar on verbal aggression, while ABC also led in the deceit category. Comparison of prosocial behaviors shows little difference by network.

My colleague, Dr. Atkin, will now discuss children's response to violent acts by content.

Mr. ATKIN. Our research project also featured a survey investigation where we measured children's exposure to these programs, their reactions to content, and their patterns of social behavior. The research methods involved questionnaires completed by 721 children in the fourth, sixth, and eighth grades in comparable towns in Michigan and Wisconsin. Rather than rely only on the reports of the children, we also interviews their mothers in many cases, and also some of their peers and teachers, to get an all-around report on their behavior patterns.

Some of the most violent programs on television are highly popular with the children from this age group. During the 1975–76 season, more than one-third of the children frequently watched "Hawaii Five-O," "The Six Million Dollar Man," "S.W.A.T.," "Starsky and Hutch," and "Kojak"; this means every week or almost every week. The typical child is exposed to some 300 acts of physical aggression per week, according to our calculations.

Boys are much more likely than girls to consume violent programing, and exposure to violence decreases between the fourth and eighth grades. Since post-family hour programing is broadcast one hour earlier in the central time zone, we studied children in Wisconsin and found that they indeed watched more violent programing than those in Michigan. For example, one-fourth of the Michigan sample of young people watched "Starsky and Hutch," which was on at 10 p.m., compared to almost half of the children in Wisconsin, where they show the program at 9 o'clock.

There is considerable variation in the way that different children perceive violence on television. Although most children generally perceive that characters in television programs are realistic, the perceived reality of violent acts is not high. For instance, just 21 percent say that the fighting on TV is usually presented in a realistic manner. Younger children tend to believe that television is more realistic than older children.

Violent characters rank high among the personalities who children most "want to be like." A majority of the boys identify with Steve Austin—the Six Million Dollar Man—while the girls tended to prefer Jaime Sommers—the Bionic Woman.

Some viewers report that violent programs arouse hostility and stimulate antisocial learning. This is according to the reports of the children themselves, as they are watching, or right afterwards. About one-third of the youths say they "find out new ways to get back at people," while watching violent shows, "feel like getting even," "get new ideas about how to do bad things without getting caught," and "feel like hurting one of my enemies" while they are watching police and detective shows. Boys are especially likely to report these negative responses.

Now I will examine the effects on behavior to determine whether consumption of television violence produced aggressive behavior. We first constructed elaborate indices of viewing and aggression. A violence viewing index summed the exposure frequency to 29 programs, weighted by tne number of violent acts per program and the intensity of these acts. We also constructed an aggressive behavior index represented reports of actual recent behavior and hypothetical response tendencies. We studied ordinary forms of aggressiveness rather than shooting or stabbing; some sample items appear in table 4. These measures were validated against independent reports of the child's behavior by peers, teachers, and mothers.

The relationship between viewing and aggression is moderately strong; the more a child watches violent content, the higher the level of physical aggression. The strength of this association is illustrated in table 4, which compares the heaviest and lighest viewers of televised violence. Five illustrative questions ask how the child would respond to potential conflict situations. On the average, an aggressive response was selected by 45 percent of the heavy violence viewers, compared to 21 percent of the light viewers. In addition, the heavy viewing children reported pushing and shoving someone an average of 2.7 times during the previous week, before they filled out the questionnaires, compared to 2.0 acts by those who are less exposed to TV violence.

We sought to isolate the conditions under which TV violence effects are strongest. Impact is greater among boys, older children, and those who perceive television violence to be realistic. Furthermore, children whose television diet contains high amounts of both aggressive and prosocial content are less affected than those who watch high amounts of aggression alone, without the counterbalance of prosocial inputs. It should also be noted that aggressive behavior is slightly more prevalent in the Wisconsin sample, where the young viewers can see late-evening violent programs one hour earlier than in Michigan.

We are now examining the ways that parents can intervene to reduce the negative impact of televised violence. We find that only small proportions of parents forbid exposure to violent series such as "Starsky and Hutch"—13 percent—"Hawaii Five-O"—10 percent—and "Police Woman"—9 percent. Since the percentages of parents who forbid exposure ranges between 5 and 15 percent, it appears that interdiction is not a widespread tactic used by parents. However, many parents do tend to sit and watch police and detective programs with their children, rather than let them watch alone.

Parents can attempt to mediate the impact of violent programs by interpreting the content for children. We find that a majority of parents point out that the TV action does not reflect real life, explain that physical aggression is not the best response to problems, warn children not to copy such acts, and express disapproval of violent behavior displayed during the shows.

To determine whether coviewing between parents and children and interpretation strategies by parents are effective, we compared the strength of television impact on children who viewed with different kinds of input from their parents. The most important factor seems to be joint viewing: the relationship between exposure and aggression is half as strong for children who frequently view police-detective shows with their parents than for children who seldom view with parents. Parent-child discussion helps reduce the negative impact for younger children, but not for older ones, we find. I want to point out a couple of other findings regarding the social effects of television. We examined the influence of television on verbal aggression and on prosocial behaviors. The results indicate that verbal aggression exposure leads to somewhat higher levels of yelling and making abusive comments.

There are modest relationships between watching prosocial TV portrayals and displaying altruism, enacting reparation for bad behavior, and expressing feelings of others. Weaker associations are found for showing affection and for self-expression.

In sum, the television networks broadcast an extensive amount of violent content—about 15 acts of physical aggression each hour. Our survey investigation supports previous research demonstrating that TV violence produces aggressive behavior. The content is as violent and the effects are as strong in 1976 as 5 years ago when the Surgeon General reported on the problem. Parents can help combat negative impact by viewing with their children. However, reduction of the quantity and intensity of violent content presented to child audiences remains the most effective option to solve the problem.

Thank you for your attention.

[The tables referred to follow:]

Table 1

Rate and Intensity of Acts

By Time Period

(Hourly Rate/Average Intensity)

	Saturday Morning	Family Hour 8-9 p.m.	9-11 p.m.
Pro-Social Acts			
1. Altruism	15.5/198	14.7/178	11.2/117
2. Affection	3.7/101	9.6/124	7.9/133
3. Expressing Feelings of Others	7.3/75	11.5/130	9.3/141
4. Expressing Feelings of Self	4.6/129	13.7/163	17.4/142
Hourly Total	31.1	49.5	45.8
Anti-Social Acts			
1. Physical Aggression	22.9/329	8.8/306	15.6/402
2. Verbal Aggression	23.1/145	25.7/149	22.4/145
3. Deceit	5.6/151	4.3/130	3.3/168
Hourly Total	51.6	38.8	41.3
Number of Shows	24	36	32
Number of TV Hours	13.5	26	29

Table 2

Rates and Intensity of Acts

By Program Type

(Hourly Rate/Average Intensity)

	Cartoons	Action Crime	Situation Comedies	Family Drama	Sat. A.M. Non-Cartoon
Pro-Social Acts					
1. Altruism	14.3/176	11.5/134	15.9/104	13.7/178	17.8/232
2. Affection	2.8/128	5.6/121	17.3/132	8.6/118	5.6/73
3. Expressing Feelings of Others	5.8/109	8.8/136	13.7/123	12.0/143	10.4/152
4. Expressing Feelings of Self	5.6/161	18.2/143	18.0/146	5.7/196	2.7/129
Hourly Total	28.5	44.1	64.9	40.0	36.5
Anti-Social Acts					
1. Physical Aggression	28.8/351	17.4/426	7.1/158	8.9/239	11.1/216
2. Verbal Aggression	23.7/146	22.0/154	34.5/135	16.7/157	22.0/147
3. Deceit	7.3/162	4.8/156	3.3/125	2.3/142	2.2/78
Hourly Total	59.8	44.2	44.9	27.9	35.3
Number of Shows	16	30	26	7	8
Number of TV Hours	9	30	13	7	4.5

Table 3

Rate and Intensity of Acts

By Network

(Hourly Rate/Average Intensity)

	ABC	CBS	NBC
Pro-Social Acts			
1. Altruism	15.6/148	12.0/143	13.2/191
2. Affection	5.8/130	9.3/130	7.8/117
3. Expressing Feelings of Others	9.2/122	10.6/131	9.2/149
4. Expressing Feelings of Self	11.6/151	14.6/148	14.1/153
Hourly Total	42.2	46.5	44.3
Anti-Social Acts			
1. Physical Aggression	20.5/261	13.5/268	10.2/297
2. Verbal Aggression	25.2/163	23.8/142	22.3/135
3. Deceit	4.7/155	4.6/151	3.3/136
Hourly Total	50.4	41.9	35.8
Number of Shows	26	34	31
Number of TV Hours	20.5	23.5	23.5

TABLE [illegible]

Relationship Between Violence Viewing and Aggressive Behavior

Questionnaire Item		Light Viewers (N=[illegible])	Heavy Viewers (N=[illegible])
When someone hits you first, how often do you fight back?	ALMOST ALWAYS	19%	43%
What if someone cut in front of you in a long line. Would you push them out?	YES	21%	34%
Suppose you are playing a ball game and one kid throws the ball at your head while you aren't looking, and it hits you. Would you hit the kid with the ball?	YES	16%	37%
You are walking down the street and drop a dollar bill. Another kid grabs the money and won't won't give it back. Would you start a fight with the kid?	YES	27%	56%
You work really hard to finish homework for school. Some kid takes your papers and rips them up. Would you beat up the kid?	YES	22%	53%
In the last week, how many times did you push or shove someone?	AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES	2.0	2.7
In the last week, how many times did you hit, pinch, kick, or scratch someone?	AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES	1.0	2.3

Light viewers are the one-fourth of the sample who scored in the lowest quartile on the TV violence viewing index (seldom view violent programs). Heavy viewers are the one-fourth of the sample who scored in the highest quartile of the TV violence viewing index (view violent programs almost every week).

Mr. Russo. Thank you, very much. I have just a couple of questions. When witnesses testified earlier from CBS and NBC I asked them a question as to whether they felt there was a causal relationship between violent acts on television and the acts that children commit. Their response was that really they didn't see any causal connection. Your research seemed to strongly indicate just the opposite. I was wondering if you feel that there is more research needed in this area, or is it just that the networks are ignoring research data such as yours?

Mr. Greenberg. Mr. Russo, the last time I was able to observe the three network presidents was in response to the Surgeon General's report, and they sat before that committee and the three at that time who were present all confessed to the fact that there was a causal connection between television violence and aggressive behavior among some young people. Only one of those three is still a network president, and the two replacements have perhaps reneged or changed their minds from the stands presented by their predecessors.

Our research which links exposure to aggressive behavior on the part of children is part of a large series of studies done by many people besides ourselves. And the vast bulk of the evidence, as we see the evidence, says there is not only relationship, but there is a causal relationship between exposure and aggressive behavior. It is not the only cause of aggressive behavior, it is a contributor, and we believe that the evidence shows it to be a significant contributor. We are no longer really asking whether there is a relationship. What we are doing with our research, given that we believe that the answer to that question has been established, is trying to specify the conditions under which the relationship is strongest or the conditions under which we can weaken that relationship.

Mr. Russo. Yes, I see that on page 4 of your testimony you strongly favor that parents be present at the time violent programs are on, which seems to have a 50 percent lessening effect on the child with parents there to explain the program, which is something we in Congress can't legislate. We can't require the parents to spend the time with the children.

Mr. Greenberg. I think what is important on that is that there are large numbers of children, however, who sit and watch without parental supervision.

Mr. Russo. I think your research hits home on something that needs to be made known to the public, that the one option that they have is to at least sit with their children and help explain the action so there isn't this violent reaction. You made a statement on page 3, in which you state that boys were much more likely than girls to consume violent programming, and that exposure to violence increases between the fourth and eighth grades. Then on page 4 you said impact is greater among boys and older children than those who perceive television violence to be realistic.

You seem to have a bit of conflict there, because if in fact the older children aren't exposed as often to the violence, how do you say that the impact is greater on older children?

Mr. Avery. The drop-off in violence viewing between fourth grade and eighth grade basically reflects a drop-off in all television viewing; after the children reach the age of 20 or 22 they tend to go into other pursuits and watch less television. So that is probably the reason why they view less violence. When we examined the strength of the effect between say younger children and older children what we were examining was: Among those who viewed, how much impact did each unit of violence have upon them? We find that per unit of violence viewed, even though it is less at the eighth grade level, the impact seems to be stronger.

I think now there is probably a number of explanations for that: Perhaps they can understand it better, perhaps they are more involved in the content. But we basically divided up the sample into the two age levels and looked at the relationship within each one, and despite the fact that the overall level was lower, the relationship actually became stronger, so that the same amount of violence had more effect at the older age level.

Mr. Huesmann. For the older boys, of the total amount of television they watched, a larger proportion is violent programing. Although their total package is smaller by the time they are in the eighth grade the larger bulk of it is persistently exposure to violence.

Mr. Scheuer. Mr. Markey.

Mr. Markey. Your study did indicate a correlation then between violent activity and perhaps its greater incidence after watching violent programing and aggressive behavior in lower socioeconomic classes? Were you able to find that depending upon the ethnic background, the income levels and the general sociological heritage of the individual child, that television had different effects upon different children?

Mr. Huesmann. Mr. Markey, those data did not deal with social class differences at all. Did we say something that indicated that?

Mr. Markey. No, I am sorry, I didn't know if you dealt with it.

Mr. Huesmann. We have data but haven't completed an analysis of it. We would prefer not to speculate on what it would show I think. This report does not deal with social class differences nor race differences.

Mr. Markey. Thank you.

Mr. Scheuer. Mr. Gore.

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to congratulate both of you on your testimony. It has all the earmarks of very carefully done research and it has the ring of truth about it as I recognized some practices that my wife and I employ when we watch television with our daughter, trying to interpret things and say that is not really what goes on in the real world and so forth. And I think that your research has contributed greatly to the subcommittee's understanding of this very important issue. I would echo something that you said, Mr. Chairman, about the fact that it is too bad that the network people could not respond to this testimony, and I don't know if this is the proper time or not but I would like to suggest that the subcommittee at some time follow up on these hearings with—by considering having a colloquium between the network presidents and social scientists, programers, producers and writers, and having actual programs shown, segments of programs about which there is some dispute. We have had a lot of controfactory testimony through this very long day of hearings, and I hope that we will follow up on it and I would like to see that explored as one possibility for getting at the truth and trying to frame some policy in this area. Thank you.

Mr. Gerbner. You may need a coliseum for that activity.

Mr. Russo. All we need is one witness from every panel today and we could accomplish exactly what the gentleman from Tennessee is talking about—the dialogue between you and somebody else, for example.

One thing I like about your study is that it not only takes the [illegible] but takes the [illegible] and it gives us, I think, a little better barometer for us to read the quality of cartoon programming; and I, like the gentleman from Tennessee, want to congratulate you on that.

Just this last weekend I watched programs, cartoons, on Saturday just to see. And you are right; there is a tremendous amount of violence in them. But we don't relate to it because it is like a fantasy land. But it does have an impact on children.

I want to thank you gentlemen for your study and thank you for appearing here today and apologize again on behalf of the committee.

Mr. Gerbner. Thank you for having us.

Mr. Russo. Your research was very, very valuable.

Our next witness and last witness—I hope he is still here and surviving—Dr. Robert Stubblefield, medical director of the Silver Hill Foundation. Doctor, on behalf of the subcommittee I want to apologize for taking so long. It is 6:30 p.m. right now. I am sure you have been here most of the day. I apologize for the amount of time you have had to spend here but I hope you found it rewarding in a sense.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT L. STUBBLEFIELD, M.D., MEDICAL DIRECTOR, SILVER HILL FOUNDATION, NEW CANAAN, CONN., ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

Dr. Stubblefield. I have been here all day and I found it very interesting. I am pleased that some of you are still here at this hour. I have testified before Congress several times, mostly in health appropriation hearings, and I think it has been a very fascinating day.

My statement is in writing and I have had a good deal to do with preparing it; I will not read it.

Mr. Russo. We will admit it into the record and you can just summarize it.

Dr. Stubblefield. I would like to state that I am a child psychiatrist and a clinical psychiatrist. I have treated people who have murdered. I have also supervised the treatment of others who are treating patients in delinquency and murder areas. I am the psychiatrist who saw Jack Ruby and testified in his trial. I am one of the psychiatrists who saw the family of Charles Whitman, the man who got on the tower and killed the people at the University of Texas in the 1960's. And I am quite convinced that we have a major problem.

I have been on the National Advisory Mental Health Council as a consultant, as a representative of the American Psychiatric Association and now as a representative of the American Medical Association. I have seen the analyses and studies supported by the approximately $500,000 a year research appropriations.

I chaired a panel in Philadelphia at the American Medical Association clinical meeting in December 1972, where Dr. Gerbner and many of the young scientists who have been involved in this field expressed their interest and concern about the problem.

As a child psychiatrist I would point out that the children had no rights when the Constitution and the first amendment existed. It may well be in the 1970's they have some rights and that may be one way to look at the issue.

I would hope that you would read our AMA statement. I hope that you would pay attention to what we are saying: that you look beyond television and violence, and at the use of television in a prosocial way. This is well documented—it can be used to teach security, to teach understanding, to teach self-respect.

The last thing I would like to say—and described in my presentation—is that I think I can help you gentlemen about the issue of causality. Most of the time we deal with the notion that there is a single cause for human behavior, and even an infectious disease—we have the notion that it takes a tubercle bacillus to cause tuberculosis but not all of the people with that particular tubercle bacillus get the disease. There are preventive factors; there are constitutional, immediate environmental nutritional factors, et cetera.

I think it would be very important to look at a scientific concept of necessary and sufficient conditions that lead to kinds of behavior, that may lead to violence and aggressive behavior and murderous behavior.

I think that if you could persuade the networks and the individuals to discuss the issue of causality around the concept of access and not "either or," you would get some answers.

I believe there is such a thing as contagion. I do believe you can show people who are highly sensitive and highly susceptible certain kinds of films and afterwards those people are much more likely to go out and commit crimes than some others. I would like to describe in 1 minute such a situation.

Take a child who is large physically. Take a child who is not wanted by the mother. Take a child who is physically abused by the father and episodically treated with love, let us say loved when father is sober, and mistreated when he is drunk.

Then stimulate that child with television and then ignore the child—and I would point out that many of our children are not in intact families; they are in families where the mother is working, the parental responsibility is shared in many ways, with many people—show that child some kind of violent act and he will not be able to integrate it, suppress it, repress it, internalize it and deal with it. And he may do the kind of thing that you described in Boston where people see violence and go out and imitate it.

I really feel that there is a major problem and I think you gentlemen have a major responsibility to try to foster more and more public recognition of it and to develop some attempt to solve it in whatever way you can look at it.

I thank you. I hope you will read the statement, and I appreciate your being willing to listen to me at this late hour. I beg you to get out of this business of "there is no causal connection." This is nonsense.

Some people will suddenly become aggressive and destructive because they have epileptic-like seizures, others because they are on a drug, others because they are stimulated by an external event, such as seeing someone else commit a crime, and so on. As long as you look for the single cause, networks will always win. They can say Gerbner's index is not in terms of content, and then they talk about the psychiatrists and find conflicting opinions.

Mr. RUSSO. How do you suggest we do it, Doctor?

Dr. STUBBLEFIELD. By both looking at the Gerbner research, which, I think, is important—by continuing the analysis of content—and by supporting research of causality as I tried to document in our statement. Government needs to support the kinds of things that you heard presented and achieve more and more understanding of why people act the way they do when they do. I thank you.

[The AMA prepared statement follows:]

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

(By Robert L. Stubblefield, M.D.)

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: I am Robert Stubblefield, M.D., a psychiatrist, Medical Director of the Silver Hill Foundation in New Canaan, Connecticut and consultant on mental health matters to the American Medical Association.

The AMA is pleased to have this opportunity to present its views concerning television violence and its effects on children.

We are submitting for the record the Association's official policy position in this area, as adopted by AMA's House of Delegates in June 1976.

BACKGROUND

AMA's involvement with the issue of television violence can be traced to the early 1970s when concern was expressed by AMA's Council on Mental Health, on which I served for 5 years. More recently, Michael Rothenberg, M.D., authored an article published in a December 1975 issue of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* under the title of "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth." In this article, Dr. Rothenberg called for "an organized cry of protest from the medical profession" against the amount of violence being portrayed on television. His call struck a deep and responsive chord within the medical profession.

A few weeks after the article appeared, the AMA Board of Trustees responded by committing the Association to a public campaign focused on reducing the amount of violence on television and improving television programming available to children.

In June 1976, the AMA House of Delegates, representing some 200,000 members of the profession, confirmed the Board's action and adopted as policy that television violence is an environmental hazard threatening the health and welfare of young Americans and indeed our future society. That policy committed us to act, in concert with industry, government and other interested groups and to encourage physicians, their families and their patients to actively oppose TV programs containing violence as well as products and/or services advertised on such programs.

A direct boycott approach was not the intent of the resolution passed by the House of Delegates. In fact, the House carefully avoided the use of such terminology in the belief that a rational dialog with both the TV and advertising industries could be achieved.

In recent months, the AMA financially supported the TV violence monitoring activities of the National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting. AMA's $25,000 grant subsidized NCCB's study documenting the amount of violence presented in prime time network television for the fall season programming.

In addition, the AMA has sponsored a research symposium, the "Effects of Televised Violence," and is currently preparing a booklet that will be distributed to physicians and parents—providing general information on TV violence as well as guidelines for parents to improve the television viewing experience of their children.

RESEARCH

As medical professionals, physicians have an obligation to warn against adverse health effects when scientific evidence supports such a viewpoint. The medical profession's interest in this field focuses on the mental health of children in the context of television operating as an environmental phenomenon and serving as a major socializing force in young people's lives. More specifically, we are concerned about the behavioral and psychological consequences of TV violence on youth—especially those who are immature or unstable.

Although disagreements exist among some investigators in this area, the AMA believes the weight of the scientific evidence points to a relationship between TV violence and increased aggressive behavior in some youthful viewers. How extensive these and other adverse behavioral effects are cannot be estimated until more studies are conducted involving cross-section samples of the entire American population of children.

Recently, Dr. Richard E. Palmer, president of the AMA, asked the leaders of ten major corporations to review advertising policies that support TV shows containing the most prime time violence. In his statement, Dr. Palmer said: "If the programming a child is exposed to consists largely of violent content, then his perceptions of the real world may be significantly distorted and his psychological development may be adversely affected."

As a member of the National Advisory Mental Health Council for the National Institute of Mental Health since 1968, I am aware that behavioral scientists have been developing research strategies to measure the impact of television in an attempt to understand behavioral patterns more precisely. Substantial research funds have been allocated for this specific purpose.

I believe that future research efforts should concentrate on identifying the susceptible or vulnerable child. Children can probably be placed on a continuum of susceptibility. One aspect of susceptibility is the child's access to the television set and the ability and willingness of his parents to supervise his viewing. Other factors include age, home environment, emotional stability and cultural background. These variables and their various combinations are numerous.

The AMA does indeed believe that television is a powerful, pervasive force in the child's development, and that the environment created by this unparalleled communications system should be the focal point of a major and continuing large-scale research endeavor. We urge the National Institute of Mental Health to continue to support such investigations. Funding should include the training of manpower in all appropriate disciplines to perform high quality investigations. Priority should also be given to examining how and to what extent various types and degrees of television violence affect children adversely.

It is now well-documented that violence is a prevalent theme in American television entertainment. Dr. Gerbner's testimony this morning attests to this fact, with his latest analysis reflecting more violence during the fall season programming than at any other time in the past decade. These results are especially alarming since just three years ago network executives assured another congressional subcommittee that efforts were well under way to reduce the amount of gratuitous violence.

The same question remains three years later. Will the television industry recognize its social responsibility, reduce the amount of violence and respond with greater sensitivity and diversity in its programming policies? That television violence represents a serious issue in the mind of the public is a consideration the broadcasting industry can no longer ignore.

PROSOCIAL PROGRAMMING

In the area of prosocial programming, the AMA believes that the television medium has not even begun to realize its potential. As you may know, some television spokesmen are claiming they "merely entertain," that they "provide what the public wants." We believe that the industry must examine the issues fairly and act responsibly in this matter.

In my opinion, the television industry cannot have it both ways—claiming that they merely entertain, facilitate abreaction and ventilation of pent-up emotions, yet denying that they shape and influence behavior. Bluntly stated, shaping and influencing behavior that is stimulating the sale of products is precisely one of the major uses of television.

Television could teach many positive lessons and behaviors that would provide alternatives to the violent and antisocial problem-solving so often conveyed in today's programming.

Our plea is for a continuous and healthy discussion among the public and its representatives, the scientists, the medical community and the television industry leaders in an effort to examine television's potential for communicating a wide array of prosocial behaviors, problem-solving techniques and thoughtful portrayals of human relationships. Some of the more useful lessons and behaviors that could be taught to children include sharing, cooperation, self-control, delay in gratification of desires, fearlessness. Also task persistence, understanding other's feelings and points of view, verbalizing one's own *real* feelings.

In my opinion, children need much more exposure to a variety of behavior models that will prepare them to live in the pluralistic, multilingual, multiethnic, industrialized world.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps our nation's policies are shaped too often by legal approaches, by people who think in adversarial terms. Apparently, some television industry spokesmen want to be left alone until we have *absolute* proof that viewing televised violence directly causes destructive behavior.

If the television industry will think, not only of the healthy children in intact compatible families, but also of the high-risk children, in broken homes, in emotionally and economically deprived families, we believe that responsible policy leaders will not cry "censorship." Instead we believe they will join with the AMA, PTA, ACT and other interested citizen groups in trying to use moderation and improve the quality of their media.

We believe that we can reason with leaders in the field of television and with the advertisers, enlisting their participation as concerned citizens. We at the AMA urge the television industry to join with us in a cooperative spirit to make television a medium of responsibility . . . a medium concerned with presenting programming that is truly reflective of the real world . . . a medium that can teach constructive solutions to the pressing problems that blight our society . . . a medium that reflects the highest values of our culture . . . a medium that truly serves the public interest and welfare.

No. 38 VIOLENCE ON TV: AN ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARD

Introduced by California Delegation (Reference Committee E, page 367)

HOUSE ACTION: ADOPTED AS FOLLOWS

Resolved, That the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association:

1. Declare its recognition of the fact that TV violence is a risk factor threatening the health and welfare of young Americans, indeed our future society.
2. Commit itself to remedial action in concert with industry, government and other interested parties.
3. Encourage all physicians, their families and their patients to actively oppose TV programs containing violence, as well as products and/or services sponsoring such programs.

N. Television Violence

HOUSE ACTION: ADOPTED

Since the publication of a special communication in JAMA on December 8, 1975 by Michael B. Rothenberg, M.D., on "Effect of Television Violence on Children and Youth," there has been considerable discussion concerning medicine's appropriate role in this problem area.

Television violence is a complex problem. It requires the concerted attention and effort of a variety of individuals and groups, including the medical and other professions, parents and parent surrogates, all segments of the broadcasting industry and the Federal government.

These forces, working together and understanding each other's roles, can make progress in identifying and curtailing the use of more harmful types of TV violence, in discouraging the viewing of violence especially by those most susceptible, and in promoting the development of wholesome and positive programming for children.

In his article, Doctor Rothenberg declared that the content of TV programming for children is far more violent than it is for adults, and he called upon organized medicine to sound a cry of protest and to make specific recommendations "for new kinds of television programming for children and youth."

Subsequently, a group of consultants, after reviewing the Rothenberg article and other pertinent material, concluded that there are legitimate reasons for medicine to express concern and take affirmative action, even though they found a wide divergence of opinion among investigators on the significance of the effects of violence portrayals.

Based on this report, the Board of Trustees at its meeting May 11-15, 1976, authorized:

1. Appointment of an ad hoc committee to evaluate new research in this field and to recommend ways in which the medical profession and others can appropriately respond to findings which appear to be valid.
2. Publication of a booklet, to be made available to physicians for distribution to patients, that would emphasize parental responsibility for children's viewing and indicate what parents should look for in terms of suitable children's programming.
3. Exploration with the National Association of Broadcasters of the possibility of convening periodic joint AMA-NAB conferences on the impact of TV on children. Such conferences would assess the current status of children's programming, identify problem areas and arrive at mutually acceptable recommendations for improvement.

The Board also recommends that the AMA:

1. Support full funding of research by the National Institute of Mental Health on the influence of television. Funding should include the training of manpower in all appropriate disciplines to perform high quality investigations. Priority should be given to objective and applicable measurements of television violence and its effects, and to the elucidation of how and to what extent various types and degrees of television violence affect children adversely.
2. Encourage physicians to emphasize to parents their responsibility in taking an interest in their children's viewing habits and in helping them be selective. Such admonition may be given by physicians in their direct contact with patients, in public appearances, including those on radio and TV shows; and in dealings with community organizations, including school boards. Appropriate channels for conveying this type of information to prospective parents are courses in parenting which are being incorporated in some high school curricula.
3. Urge television networks and independent stations, in deciding on program content and scheduling, to utilize indices of violence as they are developed. The Federal Communications Commission also should be requested to use such indices, or their methodology, to identify trends in portrayal of violence as well as to measure the violence content of individual programs. Such indices are now being developed by George Gerbner, Dean of the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, and by the Social Science Research Council. Both are receiving support from the National Institute of Mental Health. Until indices are perfected, television networks and stations should be urged to use a designation such as "parental guidance suggested" on all programs which contain episodes of violence that may have an adverse effect on some children.

In communicating these suggestions to the television industry, the AMA should acknowledge the sincere efforts which have been made by several segments of the industry to reduce violence and improve programming for children.

Mr. Russo. Thank you very much, Doctor. I have one question. In one of the magazines, Fred Pierce of ABC seems to suggest that your opposition to violence on television is, and I quote: "An implied call for censorship." I was wondering what you have to say about that.

Dr. Stubblefield. I do not believe that that is so. I attended the House of Delegates meeting in Dallas in 1976, and I would not have continued my role as a consultant to the Department of Mental Health had they moved toward boycott.

I do not think that the AMA favors boycott. I do not think that they favor censorship. I think that they favor a greater understanding by the public and by the representatives of the public about what seems to be soft data that mounts and gets harder about the relationship between what children see, what they experience, and what they do.

I could give you an example. The New York Times reported early in the month about the group of children of school age, very young, who witnessed the murder of a teacher. The teacher was murdered with six shots in front of everyone. The reported discussed the reactions of all the children, the night dreams, the terrors, the problems they had in dealing with that trauma.

I would like to point out that many deprived, emotionally disturbed children will see an external event on TV and think that it is reality and they will have a more difficult time dealing with reality because they don't have the parent available to help them internalize it.

I guess I think that what we know needs to be distributed, needs to be understood by you, by physicians, by health care givers, and we need to keep coming back to: What can we do about it?

Mr. Russo. It is a big job ahead of us. Mr. Gore.

Mr. Gore. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Dr. Stubblefield, for your role in this area and for your patience today. I listened with interest to your use of a medical metaphor to attempt to explain the causality problem and it occurred to me that the word "broadcasting" is, in itself, a metaphor, and early in this century it was chosen because those who looked at this miraculous medium found it similar to the process of scattering seeds abroad, across the land; and the metaphor, I think, is similar to the one you used: In some places you will see that surface and in other places you will not.

Dr. Stubblefield. That is correct.

Mr. Gore. I guess you know that the only thing I can say is that I will read your report carefully; I can't frame very intelligent questions without having read it carefully. So back to you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Russo. Just one more question, Doctor. I have gone through your testimony, and I think what you are saying is that we have an idea of what the problems are, that we need more research into the area and, after we research it a little further, that we take that data —as we have, for example, in "Project Castle"—and let people know about it.

For example, "Project Castle" will tell you that you ought to stay home with your children and watch these violent programs with them if you are going to allow them to watch and to at least interpret the violent acts that appear. And basically that is your approach —to use the data and to disseminate it to the public and get the broadcasters and network people to help us in doing that?

Dr. Stubblefield. An analogy just quickly: Grimm's Fairy Tales are very grim but they are read to children and, when children are old enough to read them, they internalize them and know that the stories are fantasy.

One of the problems about television is that it hits you visually and it also hits your ear and it stimulates you in a much more powerful way than reading a book. And I think that we really have a lot to learn about how children move from fantasy to reality.

Mr. RUSSO. And we may never get all the answers we need?

Dr. STUBBLEFIELD. That is right.

Mr. RUSSO. Thank you very much, Doctor. Again thank you for your testimony, thank you for being here today, and I want to apologize.

Dr. STUBBLEFIELD. Good luck, sir.

Mr. RUSSO. Believe it or not, there are no more witnesses.

The hearing is adjourned.

[The following statements and letters were received for the record:]

STATEMENT BY MRS. EDWARD W. LARGE, PRESIDENT, FAMILIES AGAINST CENSORED TELEVISION, ON THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Members of the Panel: Thank you for this opportunity to address you out in the open on the issue of the proposal that we join efforts of the National PTA to eliminate the subject matter of violence from television.

INTRODUCTION

We have audited your efforts in other cities where witness after witness has stepped forward to spew every manner of accusation and self-serving declaration against broadcasters. This has been done without regard or responsibility for truth and substituted as proof of every imaginable immorality. Those accusations have been endlessly repeated quote by quote in the printed press where we could read that broadcasters are such things as the antiChrist members of a communist plot and the cause of every evil in society.

Justification for such repetitious vilification is supposedly found in the fact that broadcasters program literature relating to violence. But the genuine nature of the aggressive rage we have witnessed is not against the programming per se. It is rage against the fact that individual Americans are free to choose to watch—enjoy and evaluate that programming. And so it surfaces that we and our children, not broadcasters, are the target of the National PTA. It is our mutual right to intellectual and literary freedom which is on the line. And it is our sovereign right as parents to raise our children according to our own best judgment which is being challenged.

My friends, you seem somehow convinced that private citizens are unfit for freedom. All, of course, except the governing body of the National PTA, the transient fellows of the AMA and such other private citizens as agree with your opinions.

Is it possible that in the pomposity of holding a degree in this or that you fail to notice that among the citizens (including our youth) who pass you on the street every day are those far smarter and better educated than yourselves though they hold no impressive degrees?

When you walk in here urging us to surrender our freedom of mind and communication to you and your flock, you ask in effect to represent us as the elite commissars of a national censorship committee dedicated to eliminating knowledge of the complex circumstances and even humorous conditions of life.

For myself, and the families from across the nation, I am here to represent thanks—but no thanks. We do not require or desire your services to babysit us or our children in the privacy of our minds or the privacy of our homes Tend to whatever is your personal business, remembering that how we raise our children and what we watch on television like all that goes on in our homes is none of your business.

It is your right to sit out your life with the three bronzed monkeys who see no evil, hear no evil and speak no evil. But we want no such monkeys for our censors. As Thomas Paine might have said it: Let them so weak as to believe in it promiscuously worship the Lion and the Ass—we shall neither copy their humility nor disturb their devotion.

VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION

Now to the subject of violence. Violence means: Rough force in action. It encompasses acts of nature, men and governments. It includes humor, sport and fun. It can be anything and everything. In any moral sense the word "violence" exists as an abstraction unless and until we relate it to the persons, things or rights involved in the full context of particular situations. The same may be said of the word "aggression" which is so handily abused and misused by ignoring the equivocations of circumstance to which it applies.

For example: If I push you in front of an oncoming truck, it is aggressive, it is violent, it is immoral and it is unlawful. But if I push you away from the path of an oncoming truck, my conduct is equally aggressive and violent but the morality reverses and the violence is both just and lawful. If my children and I are engaged in a pillow fight, again it is aggressive behavior and violent but it is neither immoral nor illegal. It is pure fun.

So what we are talking about is life and all the forces of good and evil, laughter and tears which are a part of life.

We hear much about the findings of the Surgeon General's Commission that a modest association exists between viewing television violence and an increase in aggressive behavior in some children who were previously rated as highly aggressive.

What is that humble association?

Having read all of the findings in those studies, the most that one might conclude is: that a child predispositioned to aggressive conduct (one who is not passive) may, might, possibly or perhaps, but not probably, and equally may not and sometimes does not, engage in some form of aggressive conduct if he views it on television, if he views it in any other way or if he does not view it at all; the action or inaction depending on the condition of his intellectual, emotional and moral health and mood in relation to his total environment and knowledge at any given time.

What does that say? It says that every child is one of a kind. That each child is as individual as his fingerprints—unique in all the circumstances of his being, his life and his actions. That there is no such lump sum commodity as "children"—except as God threaded them together by reason of their humanity. Anyone capable of writing an X could have reasoned to that from common sense and experience. But it is now a two million dollar scientific discovery.

The Surgeon General's Commission stated loud and clear that it cannot even be said that the majority of children in the various studies they reviewed showed *any* increase in aggressive behavior in response to the violent fare to which they were exposed.

In terms of any cause and effect relationship, the scientists involved did not then and do not now agree which comes first—the chicken or the egg. Nor do they agree as to what is a chicken or what is an egg. Nor do they even agree whether there are chickens and eggs.

In 1975 it was predicted that a new conservation movement directed against freedom of mind and communication would be launched under the banner of "*intellectual* environmental protection". We did not have long to wait. In June 1976 the policy makers of the AMA issued this heap of odious tripe: "TV violence is an environmental hazard to youth."

The simple truth is that the real "hazard" to our youth will exist on the day we allow our personal freedom of choice in the literary market place to be stamped out by those who sustain their egos or their livelihood in the representation of contrived causes.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

In order to anticipate and protect themselves from harm, our children, like all humans, must perceive the broad spectrum of knowledge held in the experience of others. Television programs which document criminal violence in the context of history (as it relates to governments and men), current events and fiction are one of the pathways to that knowledge. Whoever attempts to set up a roadblock along that path denies the right of children and all others to reason, anticipate, and survive in their person, in their property and in their freedom.

Even a nincompoop knows that if our knowledge of criminal activity had to sleep in the lonely cot of personal, private experience, we soon would have no cot for our knowledge to sleep in.

Well-intentioned broadcasters will mention here today their efforts to cut down on televised violence and the enchantment of family viewing time which a wise Judge Ferguson held in violation of the First Amendment.

Another wise man once said: "Whoever limits my knowledge of evil limits my capacity to do good."

That wisdom exposes that whoever takes action to enforce a limit on your knowledge of evil tampers with your right to live in the fullness of your conscience. Be very wary where you are being headed. Is not the simplicity of every religion rooted to the right to live and do good according to your conscience? Reason dictates that what is being proposed here borders on impinging that religious freedom which is so unalterably intertwined with your freedom of mind and communication—both of them granted by God and guaranteed inalienable by the warranty of the First Amendment.

It has been projected that television is a "sorceress" (an evil spirit which casts spells) which is so asinine it deserves no comment.

It has been projected that television is a "pervasive" medium—which means most of us have television sets. But to "pervade" is not the ability to "persuade".

It has even been said that "* * * if the public is to be given what is in their best interest, then they are to be given what they would have chosen anyway, if they were as informed as we are. * * * the enemy * * * is anyone who gives the public what they want." That is the sentiment presented to you in the name of "public interest".

On the basis of those projections and that sentiment, it is attempted to restrain television literature for the purpose of attempting to control knowledge and thought for the further purpose of protecting citizens from unknown, unspecified and uncommitted crimes which exist only in an unspecified potential in the nature of man.

My friends, if legitimate legal conduct on the part of law-abiding citizens can be banned for that specious protective purpose, there is *no liberty*—just the rights of criminals. This is a totally new, illegal and immoral theory of crime prevention. It is the sewage morality of communist Russia, Red China and assigned hell.

It is common sense to know that there exists among us those capable of misusing knowledge however acquired.

To a purse snatcher and mugger, the mere sight of a woman's purse or a man's wallet may be sufficient knowledge and incentive to steal.

What is right action for our protection? Do we forbid women to carry purses or men to carry wallets? Do we ban property rights? Or do we punish the crime?

To a rapist, the mere sight of a woman may be sufficient knowledge and incentive to rape.

What is right action? Do we forbid women to appear on television? Do we kill off girl babies? Do we require all women to make themselves as homely as goats? Or, do we punish the crime?

The fallacy of impeding knowledge and thought for the purpose of preventing crime is demonstrated by paraphrasing Madison's remarks on another subject. One method of removing the causes of crime is the destruction of liberty essential to its existence. That remedy is worse than the disease. Liberty is to crime what air is to fire. But liberty (knowledge and communication) is essential to political life and all life. To abolish it would be the same folly as to annihilate the air which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency.

A number of elitists all claiming to be the three wise men will descend on the microphone today hoping to create an emotional stampede among the public oxen they deplore. They will urge you to let strangers decide what you want. The last thing you will get from them is anything you want. You can fake them out by taking time to ***think***.

Our children are not a natural resource. They are not the communal property of society at large. They are not property and they are not guinea pigs. They are individuals. They are the most over-analyzed, over-pressured children in history. We want them out of the national test tube.

Enforced malnutrition of the mind can never be a substitute for knowledge. We submit that children, the same as adults, will thirst for knowledge of violence to whatever extent they thirst for justice, survival and freedom. Perhaps that is the nature of the craving which has yet to be satisfied in a country where born to the knowledge of freedom we are all now victimized in every pursuit by too many guidelines—too many regulations—and too many laws.

Our sister State of New Hampshire bears on its license plates the message: "Live free or die".

God bless you and give those of you who would call yourselves teachers the wisdom to teach our children the full implications of that message.

Thank you.

STATEMENT OF DR. C. WELTON GADDY AND DR. HARRY N. HOLLIS, JR.

In the fall of 1976, in its annual meeting, the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, voted to engage in a multi-faceted project on television and morality. The purposes of this project are to discover Southern Baptists' ideas regarding the impact of television on our society; to receive suggestions on how the medium can be improved; to develop conclusions regarding responsible television programing which can be shared with network executives and appropriate government officials; and to develop materials which will assist families as they nurture responsible viewing patterns in their homes.

Within the past six months, we have had continued hearings on television and morality in the Dallas-Ft. Worth area of Texas, Montgomery, Alabama, Richmond, Virginia and San Francisco, California. During the time period from February 21 to February 26, 1977, with the help of persons in the viewing areas of Jackson, Mississippi, Wichita Falls, Texas, Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, D.C., we have monitored television programs aired on the three major networks.

Wide coverage of the Christian Life Commission's work has appeared in both the print and electronic media. Endorsements for the Christian Life Commission's project have been received from state Baptist papers such as the *Religious Herald* in Virginia and secular newspapers such as the *Tennessean* in Nashville, Tennessee.

We commend the House Sub-Committee on Communications for continuing this day of hearings. However, in our opinion, one day is not enough. Given the widespread concern of the American people about television programming and the documentable need for improvement in television programming, more hearings are in order and should be held soon. In addition to listening to network officials and personnel from television-related public agencies, we believe you need to hear from other segments of the American public. We, at the Christian Life Commission, have been much impressed by the citizenry's depth of concern regarding current television programming, the strong desire of individuals to bring about reform in television programming, and willingness of people to be a part of reform efforts.

Written testimony based on the findings of the Christian Life Commission's project will be submitted to this sub-committee within a few days. However, we request an opportunity to talk with you about these findings. Obviously, there are many other Americans who have information to share which would add to this sub-committee's important work. We urge you to find a place on the sub-committee's agenda for hearing us and persons like us, who desire more morally-responsible television programs.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS,
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT LIAISON,
Arlington, Va., March 8, 1977.

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The American Academy of Pediatrics wishes to register its voice among those concerned with television violence. We are particularly troubled by the impact of television violence upon the growth and development of children.

The Academy's interest in this issue and its efforts to improve not only television programming but advertisements directed toward children is a matter of record during the past several years. The Executive Board of the American Academy of Pediatrics has recently adopted a policy position on television violence which is enclosed for your information. You will also find enclosed two articles on the subject which have appeared in the Academy's monthly publication, *News & Comment*, which is circulated to more than 18,000 pediatricians throughout the country.

If it is possible to include this communication and the enclosed statements as a part of the hearing record for the Committees' recent review of this matter, it would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

George K. Degnan,
Director,
Department of Government Liaison.

[From News & Comment, January 1977]

Television Violence: When Is It Too Much

As we noted in this month's Of Interest section, the national PTA has launched a four-phase campaign to reduce the amount of violence shown on television. Some pediatricians will undoubtedly participate in that program.

What caused the PTA to become so concerned about the issue of televised violence and children? What does their program hope to accomplish? How is it organized? This month's article is based on background material prepared by the PTA. The opinions, of course, are those of the PTA and not necessarily those of the Academy.

Practically every day of the year, blood, gore, and brutality enter the American home.

There are maimings and murders, rapes and robberies, stabbings and shootings, and countless other horrors. This violence enters living rooms, family rooms, and bedrooms through that sound-and-picture box, the television, and commands an audience that includes millions of young children. It is an appalling fact that by the time the average American child reaches the age of 14, he has witnessed 11,000 television murders—not including muggings, fights, rapes, robberies, kidnappings, and beatings not resulting in death!

And this fact seriously disturbs the National PTA. Concern for children—all children—has been the reason for the PTA's existence since it was founded in 1897. The protection and education of children, including a safe, wholesome environment in which they can live and grow, has been a continuous effort. So, the PTA's concern over the quality of entertainment children are watching is not new. It dates back to 1910, when the national membership expressed concern over the influence of mass media on children and youth, and urged local organizations to supervise attendance of youngsters at motion picture and vaudeville productions.

In 1942, the *PTA Magazine* began publishing motion picture reviews, and in 1948, a special committee was drafted to develop "A Plan of Action Against Unwholesome Comics, Motion Pictures, and Radio Programs."

Since 1964, resolutions have been passed at state and national conventions, demanding that the standards of the media be improved. At first, the resolutions concentrated on the mass media in general, but at the 1969 national convention, delegates adopted a resolution urging the TV industry to improve the quality of children's programs, and at the national convention in 1975, they adopted a resolution focusing solely on violence in television programming.

The 1975 resolution urged state PTAs, districts, councils, and local units to observe and monitor TV programming and commercials in their areas; and where an excessive amount of violence in programming is seen, to express their views, with documented reporting, to the sponsors of the programs, the local TV stations and major networks, the National Association of Broadcasters and Federal Communications Commission, and their elected representatives. The resolution also demanded that networks and local stations reduce the amount of violence shown on TV programs and commercials during the entire day, but particularly during the time impressionable young children are most likely to be watching.

Following that convention, Carol Kimmel, National PTA president, wrote letters to executives at the three national networks and the National Association of Broadcasters' Code Authority Office, requesting that serious consideration be given to the PTA's concern about TV violence, as well as assurances that violence was being reduced. Their responses indicated that though the network's regret the PTA's unhappiness with their programs, they believe they are obeying the rules in television programming—and that nothing is going to change.

Television, because it grips the viewer's interest through both the eyes and ears, has a strong fascination for children, and many adults. The degree of fascination is such that by the time many children graduate from high school, they will have spent more time in front of the TV set than in the classroom.

Although much more research is needed before we have adequate knowledge about the immediate and long-range effects of television on children, many parents believe this single instrument has a tremendous effect on children's emotions, attitudes and behavior. There is research that backs this belief. Findings from studies on the impact of television programming on children indicate that children learn behavioral patterns from TV; they tend to imitate behavior viewed on TV, especially if that behavior is immediately rewarded; they are more likely to imitate adult than peer behavior; and this imitation may occur long after the behavioral pattern is learned.

Yet, day after day, children see gunmen and gangsters on the TV screen. Many programs depict murder and intrigue as methods to solve a problem, rather than discussion, persuasion, and logic—the socially-acceptable methods of problem solving.

Even in programs produced especially for the young, violence exists. Dr. Earle Barcus of Boston University studied children's television programming on Saturday and Sunday mornings and during the after-school hours of 3:00-6:00 p.m. in ten cities. He found that eight out of ten stories contained some violence or threats of violence (one show in four was classified as "saturated" with violence); the most popular form of violence was that done with weapons; and the story line leading to the violence was primarily interpersonal rivalries and conflicts, "with little rationale given to them."

Psychiatrist William Glasser, who gained national attention as the founder of reality therapy, feels intensely that parents should not allow their children to become hooked on the negative addiction of television. He reports that TV has become the "single most destructive force in our society" and cites the following specific concerns which he attributes to TV: children are not as strong as they used to be due to lack of physical activity; there is an epidemic of hyperactivity among children due to motionless sitting in front of the TV; disadvantaged minority children experience the worst effects; and children who have become weakened by excessive TV viewing find school more difficult.

The PTA has always believed that parents must assume responsibility for what their children watch, and urges them to do so; but it is grimly aware that many children do not have parental supervision. Consequently, much of their learning experience—their ideas about the social world and how people relate to each other—comes from television. The influence, of course, works both ways. Programs such as "Mr. Rogers' Neighborhood" and "Sesame Street" have done much to foster pro-social attitudes in pre-schoolers. But unhappily, TV violence has "remained unacceptably high," according to a 1974 report by two researchers at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications.

Just what happens to a child after being exposed to a daily barrage of brutality. Psychologists have been observing children for years, attempting to find the answer.

One study reports that when the TV-hardened child experiences school failure, he acts out what he sees on television—violence. Another reaches the disturbing conclusion that children have lost their sensitivity to news films and documentaries depicting actual human suffering and tragedy, and are impressed only by fantasy violence, made vivid by exciting camera angles and dramatic make-up, exhibited on day-to-day programs. Because young children cannot consistently distinguish between fantasy and reality in their own play, it is not difficult to understand a lack of discrimination between reality and fantasy on the TV screen.

In his book, "Two Worlds of Childhood," Urie Bronfenbrenner reports that children are turning more and more to television characters as behavior models. It is an uncomfortable thought to imagine youngsters identifying with television characters who spend much of their time engaged in violent acts.

The ability of TV violence to transcend age, sex or social background was documented in the 1972 *Surgeon General's Report*, which analyzed more than 50 studies of 10,000 children between ages 3 and 19. Psychologist Robert Liebert, one of the principal investigators for the study, found that "the more violence and aggression a youngster sees on TV, regardless of his age, sex or social background, the more aggressive he is likely to be in his own attitudes and behavior. The effects are not limited to youngsters who are in some way abnormal, but rather were found in large numbers of perfectly normal children."

Is it true that a little TV violence never hurt anyone? One large national organization commissioned a five-year study on the subject. Directed by Dr. Seymour Lieberman of Lieberman Research, the study measured the responses of 10,000 children between ages 8 and 12 in the New York/Connecticut/New Jersey area. Each child's aggressive tendency was measured before and after exposure to a television show by the force with which the child hit an electronic pounding platform. Researchers figured if a child hit the platform harder after the show, he was feeling more aggressive. The study determined that the more physical and realistic the TV violence, the greater the child's tendency toward aggressive behavior. It concluded that "under certain conditions and depending on the types of violence portrayed, exposure to televised violence is capable of producing increased inclination toward aggression in children." The study was commissioned by the American Broadcasting Company.

The PTA is not a censor of TV programs, movies, books, or magazines. While it doesn't presume to dictate what adults may read, see, or hear, it does believe they should guide their children's activities.

The PTA is a national organization that has traditionally urged the public to join its efforts to make the mass media enriching, rather than harmful, to the lives of children.

It is the PTA's belief that the mass media have a responsibility to the public. Yet, the major networks have done little to improve the quality of programming during either child or adult viewing hours. The "Family Viewing Time" initiated by the networks is not a responsible solution to genuine public concerns. The creation of a two-hour "safety zone" in which innocuous, inoffensive programs are shown is a superficial response, based on the almost-amusing assumption that children do not watch TV after 9:00 p.m. (or 8:00 p.m. C.S.T.). Any parent knows this just isn't so.

Yet, despite the problems of the "Family Viewing Time," eight out of ten Americans favor the concept, according to a survey by a New Jersey research firm commissioned by *TV Guide*. Nevertheless, that same survey found that most Americans oppose stricter government controls of TV entertainment and feel that each family should decide for itself what will be watched.

If the networks' concern is primarily financial, their performance may be influenced through their sponsors. General Foods, which spends $[illegible] million annually on TV advertising, has begun to protest sponsorship of programs depicting violence. The Miracle White Company canceled $1 million in advertising on violent programs. Both firms are urging fellow advertisers to cooperate in an advertising ban on such shows. Other advertisers who have voiced opposition to sponsoring violent programs include [illegible] Corporation, Kemper Insurance, Hallmark Cards, Inc., Sears, Roebuck & Co., and Oscar Mayer & Co.

Certainly, product support and encouraging letters to those corporations who join the advertising ban could be helpful. Simultaneously, refusing to buy products advertised on violent shows, and letters and petitions of protest could influence their decision. Cooperating businesses need not suffer the loss of all television advertising; they may simply indicate that they will not sponsor violent programs. When financial support for television murder lags, perhaps the dollar-conscious networks will allow the television murder rate to follow suit.

There may not be any clear answer at this time, but there is a clear problem. Officially involved agencies and industries are too slow, too [illegible], or too unwilling to make constructive changes. It is time that citizens become more deeply involved in what happens on the public air waves. Small groups must limit their tasks by necessity, despite sincere concerns.

So, it is the country's largest volunteer organization dedicated to children's needs—the National PTA, with more than 6½ million members—that has accepted the challenge to enrich the quality of life experienced through television by millions of children every day.

(From Voice & Comment, July, 1976)

VIOLENCE—TV AND CHILDREN: THE EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE

Few things in late 20th century America affect a child more than television. By the time the average American child reaches adolescence, he will have spent more hours in front of a TV set than in a classroom. Social scientist Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University has said that from the point of view of his profession, "the normal American family now consists of a father, a mother, 2.2 children, and one television set. Along with the parents, this new family member must accept his full measure of responsibility for the human, or inhuman, quality of the next generation of Americans."

How much do you know about television and its relationship to children? Does televised violence really affect children? Are they swayed by ads for sugared foods? What can be done to improve children's television?

These questions are on the minds of parents throughout the country. Pediatricians must undoubtedly deal with such questions in their practice. What kind of information do we have about this "new family member?"

For the next three months, we will be examining the question of television and children from several points of view. We will hear from special interest groups, communications experts, nutritionists, and broadcasting monitors.

This month, we begin with a report on televised violence and children. Randall P. Harrison, Ph.D., is a professor of communications at Michigan State University and is currently visiting research psychologist at the Laboratory for the Study of Human Interaction and Conflict at the University of California, San Francisco. His article was originally presented during the Academy's spring session in Bal Harbour, Florida last April.

A recent study, by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, reports some startling projections about violence in our society. An infant born in a major U.S. city today—in 1976—has a two percent probability of having his life terminated via murder. This figure is rather sobering. It means that the odds against a male infant in an American city today are worse than those faced by a young man entering the armed services in World War II.

In brief, it appears that violence in our society is becoming a major health problem. As medical doctors, you may have a real stake in trying to manage the future levels of human aggression in our communities.

One factor which many people see as contributing to aggression in our society is, of course, the exposure of our young to television violence. Some scientists have argued that seeing violence can be very harmful particularly for the young. Other equally respected scientists have argued that the effects are minimal or non-existent. And a few reputable scientists have argued that seeing violence is positively beneficial.

My own cautious conclusion is that if you believe there's a link between cigarette smoking and cancer, then you probably ought to believe there's a link between watching TV violence and human aggression. Being sophisticated men of science, you can appreciate both the power and the problems built into that analogy.

While I can give you a capsule conclusion, the issue is complex. As the primary opinion leaders in your community and in our nation, it may be particularly important that you understand the issues—and what the research does and does not say.

Finally, even if you understand the research and agree that there may be a link between TV violence and human aggression, you may have some difficulty deciding what you, as a concerned health professional, could or should do. I would like to explore with you some of the options that may be available.

Let me first place the television issue in its broadest context. I have suggested that violence is becoming a significant health problem and that some people think television is a contributing factor.

Violence in society strikes at several levels. First, is the direct injury done to individuals, the assault on the health and life of the unfortunate victims.

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Having participated in one of those studies, I know both some of the strengths and weaknesses of that "crash" program. But in spite of the pressure for a speedy and definitive answer, an amazing amount of excellent research was done. The project produced five volumes of results plus a summary report by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.

Unfortunately, a good deal of controversy has surrounded that report. As a result, many observers feel the research has been under-reported—and perhaps mis-reported—by the mass media. This in turn has meant that the public and many concerned professionals—perhaps some of you—have not been as well informed as might be expected.

Controversy surrounds the report at several levels. First were very sincere intellectual differences among scientists studying television effects. As I indicated, good theoretical grounds can be found for believing that TV violence will have a) good effects, b) bad effects, or c) no effects.

Beyond this, however, many social scientists found themselves for the first time embroiled in a heated political issue in which strong economic forces were at play. In setting up the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee, a decision was made to submit candidates for this committee to the television industry for approval. A parallel procedure had been used with the tobacco industry when the Surgeon General explored the link between cigarette smoking and cancer. In part, the argument was that the final report would have much greater impact if the TV industry was involved in and responding to the research as it evolved.

Perhaps unfortunately, the TV industry chose to blackball seven social scientists—including some of the researchers who were most experienced and most competent in the area of television research. The final composition of the 12-man Scientific Advisory Committee included two TV network employees and three others who were strongly identified with network positions in terms of past employment or consulting.

When news of the blackballing and selection procedure leaked out, many social scientists were incensed. Probably no matter what the Scientific Advisory Committee said in their summary report critics would have taken exception.

When the Committee did present its summary many researchers felt that it did not reflect strongly enough the link which was emerging between media violence and aggressive behavior. The report emphasized the cautions necessary in interpreting the research—which responsible social scientists readily recognized. But for policy makers and the press, these cautions seemed to be saying that the project had failed to find a link between television and aggression.

The Committee-written summary was released weeks before the rest of the report and it was the summary that caught the headlines. The New York Times broke the story with a front-page headline: "TV Violence Held Unharmful To Youth". Other newspapers and newsmagazines followed the Times lead. Incidentally, having once been a wire service reporter, I have great sympathy for the press in their attempts to cover a complex, scientific controversy such as this. In fairness, the press did give follow-up coverage to those who dissented from the Committee's view of the research. As is so often the case, of course, the first impact was difficult to overtake.

In the cold light of day, now removed from the heat of that original controversy, how might we now summarize the five volumes of research done under the auspices of the Surgeon General?

The Surgeon General himself in subsequent testimony before the Pastore committee had this to say:

"While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between televised violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate action. The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come."

The most consistent finding was that seeing TV violence did have an effect. While the committee's summary emphasized that not all children were affected and not all were affected equally, the various research projects studied some

10,000 children, in all parts of the country, of different ages, and from different backgrounds. Again and again, even small doses of TV violence led to measurable increases in antisocial behavior. These effects were not limited to a few children who were disturbed or abnormal. The effects can be demonstrated in children you see every day.

Many of the studies in the Surgeon General's project examined short-range effects in fairly tightly controlled laboratory settings. From these it has been necessary to extrapolate long-range effects. If seeing a few minutes of televised violence can lead to measurable increases in aggression, what must be the effects of seeing television violence day in and day out? It's estimated, for example, that the average American child between the ages of five and fifteen sees some 13,000 human beings destroyed on his television set. In growing up, the typical child spends as much time with television as he does in our educational system. He spends more of his waking hours watching TV than in any other single activity.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to get clear indications of the cumulative effects of television. However, one study in the Surgeon General's project did provide some intriguing leads.

Researchers were able to go back and study children they'd looked at ten years earlier. They found in the first phase of their study that aggressive behavior and watching TV violence were correlated for children in the third grade. The relationship could, of course, run either way. It could be that TV was making children more aggressive—or that naturally aggressive children were attracted to TV violence.

In their follow-up research, these investigators found some startling relationships between TV violence in the third grade and aggressive behavior ten years later. The research design is complex but it appears that there is a causal link between the amount of TV violence a child sees at 8 or 9 and the aggressiveness he exhibits at 18 or 19. In short, if your 8-year-old watches lots of TV violence, you can predict—better than chance—that you'll shape him into an aggressive adult.

I suggested earlier that the evidence on television and aggression is now, where research was a short while ago on cigarette smoking and cancer. You, of course, recognize that these results do not mean that everyone who smokes cigarettes will get lung cancer. Similarly, not everyone who watches TV violence as a child will commit murder. Conversely, some people will get lung cancer even though they've never smoked a cigarette, and there are violent people who never watch TV. Finally, cigarettes may have other effects: they may be bad for your heart, or they may be wonderfully relaxing to your psyche. Television may have additional beneficial—or harmful—effects.

To understand why television might be linked to aggression we need to probe deeper. This in turn, hopefully will allow us to suggest remedies.

One way to explain the link is a straight-forward model of learning. In the first stage, the child observes behavior, symbolically presented, and he "learns" it—in the sense that if asked about it he'll recall it—often long after the initial observation. This does not necessarily mean that the child will replicate the behavior. It is his cognitive repertoire—but may not be in his behavioral repertoire. The evidence, of course, seems to indicate that children "learn" an enormous amount of social behavior at this level.

A second stage of learning takes place when the child actually adopts the modeled behavior into his own pattern of actions. This may come immediately after first exposure, or it may come long after exposure—when it is almost surprising that the event is still remembered. Or, of course, the child may never implement what he has seen and learned.

Some research has explored the conditions under which implementation occurs. If, for example, a child is frustrated, or if he finds himself in a situation very similar to one he's seen, he may be more likely to act—to move from mere knowing-about to acting on.

In addition, many researchers have been concerned with the broader lessons of television violence. It is not just that a child learns how to deliver a karate chop or write a bomb threat, it may be that he learns the broader lesson: the surest and most effective answer to a problem is violence. Civilization, of course, has moved in the other direction—building a value for conflict resolution by means other than violence: by law, mediation, personal restraint, arbitration, and creative responses to problems.

In addition to learning that violence pays off, the child may have his sensitivities blunted to the violence of others around him. In one ingenious study, children were left to monitor the videotaped play behavior of other children. They were instructed to go and get the experimenter if things got out of hand. In the video sequence, which the child thought was actual children in another room at the same time, things did indeed get out of hand. Progressively more mayhem began to take place. Those children who had just seen commercial television violence accepted much higher levels of aggression than those who had not.

Having emphasized the apparent link between television violence and aggressive behavior I would like to go on to some of the things we don't know—some of the frontiers of research before us.

I think we are now at the point where we can ask some of the questions which will be most important to parents, educators, pediatricians. Unfortunately there is a danger that the answers of the past will discourage further seeking. Many are disappointed that the old answers are not as definitive as we would like. This can create a feeling that it is fruitless to explore television effects any further. Since I believe we are on the threshold of our most important findings, this would be a sad mistake.

The research agenda ahead includes the following:

First, I believe that it is going to be virtually impossible to get a more definitive answer then we now have—at least in our society—to the general question: does televised violence cause aggression?

We could spend another million dollars in this society and increase our level of confidence only slightly. The disbelievers would still be disbelievers.

I do think there is still a chance—although it's disappearing—to get more definitive answers in other societies which do not have television as yet. One problem is that in this society children start watching TV very young. By the time they are old enough to respond to most of our measures—even by 4 or 5—they've seen thousands of hours of television. If there are any long-range effects, they may already have occurred.

There are a few societies which do not yet have television. There is only one industrial, Western society without television—and it is introducing TV in 1976. Fortunately, our own laboratory is now funded to do some cross-cultural research on this problem—and we still hope to provide a more definitive answer to a very tough research problem.

A second whole area of research concerns the conditions under which television has effects. This will lead to practical implications for the parent, the educator, and the relevant health professionals.

As one example in this area, let me mention our research on emotional responses to violence. Most of the past research has examined a fairly cognitive learning approach. We, however, have felt that the emotional response of the child is very important. We videotaped the facial expression of children as they watched television violence. Then we tried to predict—on the basis of the emotions displayed—whether the child would subsequently aggress or act altruistically. We found that, with young boys, those who looked happy and interested while watching TV violence subsequently aggressed more. Meanwhile, those who looked unhappy and disinterested aggressed less—and actually behaved more altruistically after seeing violence.

Thus, while I have argued that the overall research points to a link between television violence and aggression, our own research has uncovered some of the conditions which can lead to a reversed effect. The child's emotional response may be very significant in predicting and understanding his actual behavior.

Frankly, we cannot understand this phenomena very well as yet. We don't know, for example, whether parents can influence the emotional set which children bring to television watching. We are just now starting on a new series of experiments which we hope will give some answers to these questions.

Among other research trends, I should mention the increased study of prosocial programming and its effects on behavior. Originally, I think many social scientists thought that if they could only demonstrate that TV violence was having damaging effects, the networks would respond by reducing the amount of violence on the air waves. Unfortunately, violence is hard to displace—for some very pragmatic reasons. Now many researchers believe the only route to voluntary change is to demonstrate that it is possible to produce prosocial programs which are equally appealing—and hence as profitable—as violence. Some headway has been made in this direction—and more can be expected.

Given the state of research today, are there things you could do as a concerned and responsible professional?

First, of course, it helps to be well informed. I realize that you have to monitor an amazing range of new developments in your profession. But let me mention one book which some of you may find useful—either for your own reading or as a book to recommend in turn to concerned parents.

The book is called *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth*. It's written by Robert Liebert, John Neale and Emily Davidson. Bob Liebert was a collaborator with us on our original study of emotion and will be a collaborator on our forthcoming international research. It's a readable book which covers the research and its implications in a way that will be understandable to most concerned laymen.

Second, at a professional level, it might be well for your association to have a committee of your peers reviewing the effects of television and making recommendations. The recommendations might range from resolutions to be presented in the convention—which incidentally I think may be significant in future public policy decisions—to the development of programs or specific practices for members of your profession.

This committee probably could operate on a continuing basis. For example, I would suggest not only the problem of TV and aggression, but the problem of television and children's nutrition. A new study—reported last week for the first time at a conference in New Orleans—raises that question. The researchers were drawn to this problem when they noticed that TV ads, aimed at children, push many products which are high in sugar content—candy, soft-drinks, desserts, sugared cereals, etc. Their preliminary findings do indicate a relationship between TV watching and poor nutrition. The whole issue of television advertising directed toward children is, of course, an issue which is getting more and more research attention.

If you become concerned about television effects on children, there are things you can do even at a local level. Local stations, for example, make choices among the syndicated shows they buy. In some communities, groups have been working to urge stations to expand the variety of programming available—rather than add to the level of violence already available in national shows.

I wish that I had more to offer you at a personal level—things you might do in working directly with children or concerned parents. As I indicated earlier, we are just now getting to some of the practical questions about what might be done by parents, educators and concerned professionals.

Given the evidence, it seems that at least some parents should be concerned about what is happening to their children.

I really have only two concrete recommendations for such parents. First, we find out that most parents don't really know what their children are watching on television. When you ask mothers, they're way off. And they are fantastically better than fathers. So if parents are concerned, a first step might be for them to watch what the children are watching.

A second step would be to discuss the television content with the child. Again, research indicates that children take away from their viewing ideas that are not easily predicted by adults. The parent may be very helpful in giving the child a framework within which to understand the broader values and issues that arise for him out of television.

Our communication environment may be as vital as our physical environment to our health and well-being. While television is by no means the only, or even the major, factor contributing to strife in our society, it is a factor about which we now know a great deal. Hopefully, as we learn more we can increasingly use this great communication resource in a way which will build healthier children and happier human beings.

CBS,
New York, N.Y., April 25, 1977.

Congressman LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,
Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN VAN DEERLIN: For some time we have been concerned about Dr. George Gerbner's Violence Profile, its misleading aspects and its general acceptance. This concern was heightened by some of the pointed questioning by members of your Committee at the March 2 hearings.

I asked for an analysis of Dr. Gerbner's material, based on his Violence Profile No. 8, which he released to coincide with your hearings. A copy of that analysis is attached. In it, you will find at least four basic—and fatal—flaws in the Gerbner approach. They are:

1. The Gerbner Violence Index is not, and does not claim to be, a measure of the amount of violence on television. Unfortunately, it is so interpreted. Actually, Dr. Gerbner introduces a number of extraneous factors, so that violence can go down while the Violence Index shows an increase. Indeed, that is what happened in his latest study. His own figures show that the number of incidents of violence in the family hour on the CBS Television Network declined from 20 to 11, but his Violence Index claims an increase, apparently because we had the "wrong people" involved in the action.

2. Because of these problems, the Gerbner Index cannot be used as an indicator of whether the trend is up or down in televised violence.

3. Dr. Gerbner only measures one week of television, which can lead to statistical errors of horrendous proportion. There is no longer any "typical" week of television. Our own 13-week monitoring which will be made available to you shortly, shows that the week with the highest amount of violence has from two and a half to three times more incidents of violence than the week with the lowest amount.

4. Finally, the Gerbner definition of violence is highly questionable, including, as it does, comedic violence and acts of nature. Indeed, you may recall that members of your Committee pressed Dr. Gerbner on this issue, without satisfactory resolution.

Because of the importance of this matter, I am sharing this material with the members of your Committee and I will send a copy to Dr. Gerbner. If the record of the March 2 hearing is still open, I would also respectfully request that this letter and the attachment be included.

Cordially,

JACK SCHNEIDER, *President.*

THE GERBNER VIOLENCE PROFILE

Each year for almost a decade George Gerbner and his associates at the Annenberg School of Communications have produced a report on depictions of violence on network television, titled the Violence Profile. The current Violence Profile No. 8, reporting on fall 1976 television network programming, incorporates three distinct areas of study. The first is the well-known Violence Index; the second deals with so-called Risk Ratios, and the third is Gerbner's Cultivation Index. In this analysis, we deal with the first two areas of study.

With regard to the Violence Index, our review indicates that the Index itself is not a measure of the amount of violence on network television, that it may, and in fact often does, change over time in different directions from the changes in the amount of television violence and that it is, in substance, an arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of aspects of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear. It cannot be used as a measure of the trend of televised violence over the years, or as an indicator of whether that violence over the years, or as an indicator of whether that violence is increasing or decreasing.

Gerbner's count of violent incidents, which is only one component of the overall Violence Index, has numerous and fatal deficiencies. It includes kinds of dramatic incidents which should not be included—comic violence, accidents, natural disasters. It counts as multiple acts of violence, single incidents which should be counted as single incidents. And most importantly, it rests on a single week's sample at a time in the television industry's history when programs are constantly changing and when there are no longer any typical weeks.

The Risk Ratio analysis is equally defective. Instead of directly measuring relative risks among various population segments, Gerbner devised indirect measures which do not reflect the differences in actual risk among differing population segments nor, in all likelihood, do they correspond at all to viewers' perceptions. Simpler and more direct measurements of risks often show a totally different relationship among social groups from the Gerbner measures.

THE VIOLENCE INDEX

The Gerbner Violence Index is deficient in a number of important ways and is, in fact, very misleading. First, the Violence Index itself is not, and does not purport to be, a measure of the amount of violence on television, although that is the way it is generally interpreted. The Violence Index is the sum of a number of measures, only one of which is Gerbner's count of violence. Another measure included in the Index, for example, is the proportion of leading characters engaged in violence. Because the Violence Index is composed of a number of factors in addition to the violence count itself, it is quite conceivable that the Violence Index could show a rise in a given year at the same time that Gerbner's own count of the amount of violence goes down.

That, in fact, is exactly what happened in the family viewing hour on CBS in the fall of 1976. Gerbner's Violence Profile No. 8 states that "CBS * * * lifted its two-season lid on 'family viewing time' violence in 1976." In fact, the number of incidents of violence on CBS in the family viewing hour actually declined in 1976, according to the same Gerbner report. In the fall of 1975, according to Gerbner (Table 31), family viewing hour programs on CBS contained 20 incidents of violence; CBS family viewing hour programs in the fall of 1976, again according to Gerbner, contained only 11 incidents of violence![1] So the Violence Index is a measure which simply does not tell anyone whether violence on network programming is increasing or decreasing.

Other components of the Violence Index include measures of the proportion of programs that week containing any violence, of the rate of violence per program and per hour, and of the proportion of all leading characters involved in killings. These measures are combined by the use of a set of arbitrary weights. Indeed, the index is composed of so many varied and incomparable elements which are combined in such an arbitrary fashion that it is difficult to know what it means.[2]

Bruce Owens of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, in a staff research paper which addressed the meaning and validity of the Gerbner Index, stated that: "This exercise [i.e., combining and arbitrarily weighting the various components of the Violence Index] involves adding apples and oranges * * *. One is always free to add apples and oranges if one wishes, but it isn't all clear what the result means, and some people may take it seriously." (See *Measuring Violence on Television: The Gerbner Index.* OTP Staff Research Paper OTS–SP–7, Bruce M. Owen, June 1972.) Unfortunately, many people have taken Gerbner's Violence Index seriously.

When Gerbner's violence count itself is examined, a variety of deficiencies are apparent. Violence is counted presumably to measure the number of incidents depicted on network television which might conceivably make potentially wayward youths wayward. On this view, Gerbner includes a number of kinds of dramatic action which clearly ought not to be included in a count of violence. Thus, he includes comic violence (e.g., a custard pie in the face on an "I Love Lucy" program), and injuries caused by accidents or acts of nature (e.g., injuries occurring in earthquakes or hurricanes). None of these, we think, are included in what reasonable citizens would consider to be potentially harmful dramatic forms.

A second difference in definition is related to a very complex set of social hypotheses, which Gerbner superimposes upon his violence counts. Because Gerbner's hypotheses relate to the power relationships among individuals (men vs. women, whites vs. nonwhites, etc.), he counts as new violent actions, a period of violence in which a new person enters the action. Thus, if two men are fighting in a restaurant, and one of them knocks down a waiter while trying to escape, Gerbner would count this as two separate episodes of violence. Since we do not believe that the count of violence should be distorted by extraneous social theories, we feel that the proper count is the number of violent incidents themselves, not affected by changes in the participants of the action.

The result of these differences between the Gerbner measure of violence, and what we consider to be the more rational measure that we use, is that

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[1] All page and table references herein relate to Violence Profile No. 8.

[2] The formula for the Gerbner Violence Index is:

$$100\frac{P_v}{P}+2\frac{R}{P}+2\frac{R}{H}+100\frac{N_v+N_k}{N}.$$

where:

P_v is the number of programs containing any violence; P is the number of programs; R is the number of violent episodes; H is the number of hours of programing; N_v, the number of leading characters involved in violence; N_k, the number of leading characters involved in killing or death; and N, the number of leading characters

Gerbner's count results in a much higher number than is valid and may often move in an opposite direction than to that indicated by the count one would get on a more reasonable basis.

A final deficiency of the Gerbner violence count is the size of the sample Gerbner uses. Since its inception, the Gerbner effort has measured violence during one week a year. In the last two seasons, he has added a second week in the spring, purportedly to verify the results of the fall count, but he does not use this week in his year-to-year comparisons of the magnitude of violence.

From the beginning of our monitoring we felt that there was too much change between fall and spring network schedules to permit reliance on a single week's results. So we always measured two weeks a year, one in the initial network season and one in the so-called second network season. Several years ago, as the network schedules became increasingly variable from week to week, with series being cancelled and new series being brought on board all through the year and with mini-series becoming a new programming category, we decided to review the statistical basis of our count. As a result of this review, we concluded that one could no longer make statistically valid comments about the level of violence on network television without a much larger sample of weeks. Accordingly, in the fall of 1975 we began to monitor 13 weeks a season and have continued that practice.

We have measured violence on the television networks for 13 weeks in each of two years; on the basis of these data we have learned that estimates of current year-to-year changes in television violence, based on single-week samples, are normally subject to too much random error to be valid. For we have found in the 1976–77 season that the range in the weekly number of incidents of violence on individual television networks is on the order of 2½ or 3 to 1; that is, the week with the highest number of incidents of violence on any network was 2½ or 3 times the number with the lowest number of incidents. Accordingly, we do not believe, for statistical reasons, that one can accept the Gerbner violence counts even if we waive the deficiencies of his definitions.

THE RISK RATIO

Since 1969, Gerbner has made much of a statistic to which he variously refers as the "Victimization Ratio," "the Risk Ratio," the "Violence Victim Ratio," and which will here simply be called "RR." This statistic is obtained by noting, in reference to specific population subgroups, the number of such characters in "principal roles"[3] who are depicted as "violents" (aggressors), the number who are depicted as victims, and dividing the larger number by the smaller. If victims exceed violents, the figure is preceded by a minus sign; if violents exceed victims, by a plus sign.

Gerbner considers that these RR's "provide a calculus of life's chances for different groups of people in the world of television drama" (p. 8). He occasionally modifies this description in an important manner by stating that the RR's are indices of "risks of victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence)" (p. 8). As the terms "Victimization Ratio" and "Risk Ratio" suggest, he is primarily interested in the groups with minus sign RR's—i.e., those in which victims exceed violents. He considers the RR's indexes, or at least clues, to "conceptions of social reality that television viewing cultivates in the minds of viewers" (p. 8) regarding "the structure of power." In "Highlights of TV Violence Profile No. 8" he notes especially the high negative RR's of women, children, old women, unmarried women, and various other groups. Explicitly or implicitly, Gerbner regards the RR's as either distortions of social reality or perpetuations of existing stereotypes, regards negative RR's as reason to believe that viewers regard such groups as relatively powerless, and believes that viewers themselves become fearful of becoming victims of violence.

At least two important questions arise regarding the meaning of the RR and its presumed effects.

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[3] On p. 14 of his Violence Profile No. 8, Gerbner states that "The findings summarized in this report include the analysis of major characters only." He defines "major characters" as those in "principal roles essential to the story," whereas "minor characters (subjected to a less detailed analysis) are all other speaking roles." It is therefore here assumed that the RR applies only to "major characters."

First, the RR is not a measure of simple risk, in reference to which the number of "violents" is irrelevant. If, as Gerbner's tables show, 243 of 697 women (34.9 percent) in "principal roles" across 10 sample weeks since 1969 were depicted as "victims," what matter whether the number depicted as "violents" is, as he indicates, 184, or whether it is 284 or 26? The "risk" is the same. (Comparative risks are further discussed below.)

The RR is also not a measure of "victimization (relative to the ability to inflict violence)," since the *ability* to do so is not normally a theme of television drama. The fact that 513 of the 697 women were not portrayed as inflicting violence is not an indication of their *inability* to do so. What the RR actually measures is victimization relative to the *commission* of violence. The implications of such an index are somewhat difficult to conceive.

Second, it is very difficult to believe that viewers would become aware, consciously or unconsciously, of the differential RR's—i.e., the relative proportions of different groups which are depicted as violents or victims, and the differences between groups in this regard. It is not at all difficult to believe, however, that viewers would become to one or another degree aware of something much simpler and more easily statistically stated, namely, that certain groups are more often victims than others (or more often violent than others, or more often involved in violence, one way or another, than others).

Maintaining the emphasis on risk, the more telling statistics would seem to be the simple number of persons in that group who are depicted as victims, or, for somewhat greater refinement, the percentage so depicted (the number of victims divided by the total number of persons in that group who are depicted at all). These are, to the best of our knowledge, the measures used in calculating risks of contracting given diseases, the likelihood of being in an automobile accident, and other "risk" statistics.

When Gerbner's tables are examined in terms of these simpler statistics, what emerges is often a very different picture from the RR. Briefly, it is frequently found that a group with a *higher* RR than other groups is both numerically and proportionately *less* often depicted either as involved in violence at all or as victims.

By way of example, women have a higher RR (−1.32) than do men (−1.20). The simpler statistics (Gerbner's Table 44) reveal that Gerbner observed 2,328 male characters of whom 1,604 (68.9 percent) were involved in violence and 1,400 (60.1 percent) depicted as victims. In comparison, 697 females were observed, of whom 311 (44.6 percent) were involved in violence and 243 (34.9 percent) depicted as victims. Of what is the viewer more likely to become aware: the complex fact that female victims outnumbered female violents to a greater degree than male victims outnumbered male violents, or the simpler facts that, both in terms of absolute numbers and proportionately, women were less often than men involved in violence at all, and far less often than men depicted as victims?

This same sort of situation applies to various other groups which Gerbner notes as having high RR's.

In summary, the RR is not a measure of *risk* as such, and the simpler and more telling statistics often reveal that groups with *higher* RR's than others are in fact *less often* than the others depicted as victims, both numerically and proportionately to their depiction.

University of Pennsylvania,
The Annenberg School of Communications,
Philadelphia, Pa., May 17, 1977.

Hon. Lionel Van Deerlin,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Chairman Van Deerlin: We have studied the CBS materials attached to Mr. John A. Schneider's letter of April 25, 1977, and appreciate the courtesy of a timely response for the record. We are pleased to have this opportunity to correct some erroneous and misleading allegations that have been widely circulated both before and since the release of the CBS statement.

During the Subcommittee's hearings of March 2, Mr. Schneider expressed his dislike for our methodology and claimed that CBS's own monitoring found a dramatic decrease in television violence. Two months later, at the Senate Subcommittee hearings of May 9, the CBS results showed an *increase* in television violence.

We have subjected the CBS materials and methodology to careful analysis. Some highlights are attached; the detailed comparative study will be published in the near future. Our analysis found important features of the CBS methodology unreliable. That may account for the widely fluctuating results.

The CBS objections to our Violence Index and Profile stem from an inadequate conception of the task of scientific research. They reflect a corporate defense mechanism rather than a broad and multi-faceted investigation into the nature and effects of television violence. As our accompanying analysis of the CBS report shows, that basic misconception, coupled with questionable methods makes the CBS contentions scientifically unacceptable.

The claims that all components of an Index must move in the same direction, that a solid week sample cannot be representative of a season's programming, that "comic" or "accidental" violence should be ignored, and that relative victimization is a "meaningless statistic" represent confusion and wishful thinking. We do not believe that Congress and the American public need revert to the era when self-serving claims and public relations gestures were the only bases for judging network performance. Our analysis of the CBS claims and complaints confirms the position that only an independent and scientifically tested comprehensive set of measures, such as the Violence Index and Profile, can do justice to the need for an objective standard of network performance in the public domain.

Much as we empathize with the CBS attempt to reduce indicators of network performance to the narrowest and most manageable basis, we cannot agree that such limitations would yield a valid measure of television violence. Network executives have long complained about "mechanical counts" of violence divorced from meaningful social and dramatic context. The Social Science Research Council and the National Institute of Mental Health committees of experts examined our methods and commended the use of a multi-dimensional profile sensitive to a variety of important aspects of violent representations. It is ironic that CBS now wants to go back to a one-dimensional count of a single and highly unstable measure.

Our methodology was developed and tested over many years both before and after the start of the current series of television violence studies in 1967. It was designed to avoid the sorts of flaws and errors typified by the CBS methodology. For example it uses a more precise and comprehensive definition and a multi-dimensional set of indicators. Each component is reported separately so that any single measure (including the one to which CBS would like us to limit the entire research) can be seen by itself, as well as in combination with others.

It is true, of course, that some measures may show a decline while others increase, whenever that is in fact the case. Violence Profile No. 8 reported a decline in CBS family hour violent acts but an increase in the percentage of programs in which violence occurred. In other words, violence was reduced but spread to more programs. Thus viewers who wished to escape violence by turning to what they assumed to be non-violent programs found that now those programs also had some violence. This spreading of violence to more programs is a significant fact that should be reported whether or not CBS finds the results convenient.

We agree with previous statements of CBS and other television executives, writers, and analysts that meaningful and responsible analysis of television violence is not a simple matter. Thus, it should not be dealt with by a simplistic count. Violence is a social relationship whose full and responsible understanding requires a multiple analysis of perpetrators, victims, actions, and consequences.

We must emphatically disagree that the study of TV violence should be reduced to those areas that are easily perceived by the average viewer or that have led to criticism of network policy. Indeed the less readily detectable long-range consequences may be the most important to illuminate. All significant lessons of exposure to violence, be they good, bad, or indifferent to corporate interests, should be scrutinized.

A comparison of the CBS methodology with that of our study shows that, in fact, it is the limitations of the CBS method that lead to the "fatal flaws" of which Mr. Schneider complains. Had we followed the CBS method of measuring violence, we might indeed be subject to those "statistical errors of horrendous proportion" that Mr. Schneider attributes to our study.

The attached analysis of the CRS materials will demonstrate that the Violence Index is in fact a valid and reliable indicator of television violence. True, it is more broadly based than CRS would like. But to reduce it to a single narrow measure of questionable reliability would be a disservice to the Congress, the public, and, in the long run, to the industry that also needs an independent and objective standard.

Instead of trying to explain away findings when they happen to be inconvenient, CRS should take the lead in responding to our call for pooling research data in the national television archive of the Library of Congress. Dr. Daniel Boorstin, Librarian of Congress, is receptive to such a project, and your good offices, Mr. Chairman, could expedite such collaboration in the public interest. That would be a truly fruitful and productive way to compare methodologies and to reach an open consensus on the most appropriate indicators and standards of network performance.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE GERBNER,
Professor of Communications.
LARRY GROSS,
Associate Professor of Communications.

"THE GERBNER VIOLENCE PROFILE"—AN ANALYSIS OF THE CRS REPORT OF APRIL 21, 1977

The CRS report deals with two of three areas of the annual Violence Profile. It discusses the Violence Index and the Risk Ratios showing relative levels of victimization. It is unfortunate that the third area of our research, that of television's effects, or, as we call it, Cultivation Analysis, is ignored. The answers to some issues raised in the CRS material come from our study of television viewers rather than from program content alone. By omitting results that would answer its questions, CRS serves its own convenience rather than the need for objective judgment based on all available evidence.

Organized in logical order, the CRS report focuses on four main criticisms:

1. The Violence Index is deficient because (a) it defines violence too broadly and (b) it is composed of "an arbitrary weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear."

2. The Violence Index employs faulty units of analysis because "It counts as multiple acts of violence, single incidents which should be counted as single incidents."

3. A single week's sample is inadequate for representing an entire television season.

4. "The Risk Ratio analysis is equally defective" because it measures relative rather than absolute victimization which "in all likelihood" does not correspond "to viewers' perceptions."

Each of these claims rests on erroneous—if convenient—assumptions and result in highly misleading conclusions. We shall analyze them in turn.

1. THE INDEX

CRS claims that the Violence Index is deficient because "It includes kinds of dramatic incidents which should not be included—comic violence, accidents, natural disasters." The report suggests the unlikely example of a "pie in the face," and amplifies its conception of what should be included: violence "which might conceivably make potentially wayward youths wayward" and violence "in what reasonable citizens would consider to be potentially harmful dramatic forms."

The fact is that our analysis of television content as reported in the Violence Index does not presume effects—useful or harmful. The reporting of trends in the Gross National Product, the Employment Index, or in weather conditions, cannot depend on the presumed effects of the facts being reported, be they good, bad, indifferent, or mixed. CRS confuses communications content with the scientific study of communications effects and thus ignores our study of television viewers. Yet only by studying the conceptions and behaviors of the public, rather than speculating about "wayward youths" or what seems "potentially harmful," can one determine the actual consequence of exposure to any form of violence.

CBS would also prefer to discount all violence in a comic context, which is especially frequent in children's programming. But CBS recently published "They learn while they laugh," a public relations booklet extolling the educational virtues of its children's programming, including cartoons. The weight of scientific evidence, including the recent Rand Corporation research summaries compiled by George Comstock, indicates that a comic context is a highly effective form of conveying serious lessons. If CBS wants to maintain that comedy teaches only what they wish for it to teach, the burden of proof lies with them.

Overall, the Violence Index for fall 1976 shows that violence occurs at the average rate of nearly 10 incidents per program hour. Yet CBS—and other industry spokesmen—typically attack these findings by the supposedly devastating example of the "pie in the face." First, we do not think there has been "a pie in the face" in one of our samples of TV drama in a long time. Second, the Violence Index rules specifically exclude any noncredible comic gesture or verbal abuse. We classify as violence only the credible indication or actual infliction of overt physical pain, hurt, or killing. Thus, if a pie in the face does that—which depends on the actual incident—it is violence and should be so recorded.

The contention that "serious" violence is only what "reasonable citizens would consider harmful" is equally specious. It again confuses communication content with the assessment of effects. For example, we know from independent studies of the physical environment and of foods and pharmaceuticals that citizens are not necessarily aware of the full range of consequences of many of our industrial activities and products, including the products of the television industry. That is why independent research is needed. That is why the scientific diagnosis of a complex cultural-industrial phenomenon—such as television—cannot be left to conventional wisdom, and even less to rationalizations by the corporate interests involved.

CBS also argues for the exclusion from the definition of TV violence dramatic incidents portraying "accidents," and "acts of nature." But there are no "accidents" in fiction. The author invents (or the producer inserts) dramatic disasters and "acts of nature" for a purpose. The pattern of violent victimization through such inventions may be a significant and telling part of television violence. It is hardly accidental that certain types of characters are accident-prone or disaster-prone in the world of television. Such TV content patterns may have significant effects on some viewers' conceptions of life and of their own risks in life. These patterns are, therefore, important to report if one is concerned with the full range of potentially significant consequences.

Another objection raised by CBS is that the Violence Index includes a set of measures rather than only a single indicator, and that different measures may move in different directions. The CBS report also cites an OTP Staff paper by Bruce M. Owen as complaining that the Index "involves adding apples and oranges." CBS could just as easily criticize any set of comprehensive indicators such as the GNP, labor statistics, or the weather report.

As pointed out in our response to the Owen paper (dated July 15, 1977, and also distributed through OTP but not cited by CBS), the usefulness of any index is precisely that it combines measures of different aspects of a complex phenomenon. One must add apples and oranges if one wants to know about fruit.

The Violence Index reports all its components separately as well as in combination. That has made it possible for any user of the Violence Index, including CBS, to observe the movement of each component, and to weight each as they see fit.

The CBS report correctly notes that the absolute number of violent incidents in CBS family hour programs declined in 1976, while other components of the Index showed an increase. CBS fails to discuss the nature of these other measures. It also ignores the reasons for including them in the Index. Mr. Schneider's letter further confuses the issue by claiming that the Index rose "apparently because we had the 'wrong people' involved in the action."

The kind of people involved had nothing to do with it. As Table 31 of Violence Profile No. 8 (to which the CBS report refers) clearly shows, 53.1 percent of all leading CBS family hour characters were involved in violence in 1975, compared to 51.4 percent in 1976. Even more important, violence was more broadly distributed in 1976 CBS family hour programming, making it more difficult for viewers to avoid (or have their children avoid) violence during family viewing time. While in the 1975 sample only 57.9 percent of CBS family hour programs contained violence, in the 1976 sample 83.3 percent contained violence. So, although the number of violent acts was reduced in 1976, the percent of leading characters involved in violence increased and violence was found in many more programs. Much as we sympathize with the CBS attempt to get credit for partial effort, we cannot agree that such contrary evidence should be covered up or omitted from the Index.

5. UNITS OF ANALYSIS

The CBS complaint about counting multiple acts of violence when single acts should be counted is unfounded. In the tradition of such research since the first studies of the 1950's, our coding instructions specify that a violent act is "a scene of some violence confined to the same agents. Even if the scene is interrupted by a flashback, etc., as long as it continues in 'real time' it is the same act. However, if new agent(s) enter the scene it becomes another act."

The CBS coding instructions define a violent act as "One sustained, dramatically continuous event involving violence, with essentially the same group of participants and with no major interruption in continuity." The two definitions are similar except for the ambiguous CBS qualification of "essentially." As the criteria for determining the "essential" set of agents are not specified, the CBS rule permits the arbitrary and subjective manipulation of the unit of violence. Such ambiguity not only tends to reduce the reliability of the measure but also gives the coder employed by CBS the opportunity to stretch the rule on which all other measures depend. For example, under the CBS rule it would be possible to ignore shifting participation in a long series of violent scenes, possibly involving an entire program, as not "essential" and thus to code the whole program as a single violent incident. Such a defective measure cannot be accepted as the basis for the sole standard of network performance.

6. SAMPLING

CBS asserts that "Dr. Gerbner only measures one week of television, which can lead to statistical errors of horrendous proportion." Elsewhere the report states that CBS research found wide variability in its own count of violent incidents.

Plausible as that claim seems, in fact it reflects the limitations, instabilities, and ambiguities of the CBS definition. Our own interest in assessing the representativeness of the one-week sample led to an initial analysis in 1969, to repeated spring-season test samplings in 1973 and 1976 and to an analysis of six additional weeks of fall 1976 programming. These studies indicate that while a larger sample may increase precision, given our operational definitions and multi-dimensional measures that are sensitive to a variety of significant aspects of TV violence, the one-week sample yields remarkably stable results with high cost-efficiency.

With respect to the number of violent actions per program (the measure of most concern to CBS), our six-week analysis found the same rank-order of the three networks no matter which week was chosen, except for one instance when ABC and CBS were tied (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

	Test sample week						
	1	2	3	4	5	Fall 1976[1]	Total
Total:							
Number of programs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent acts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rate (acts per program)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
ABC:							
Number of programs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent acts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rate (acts per program)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Network rank	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
CBS:							
Number of programs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent acts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rate (acts per program)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Network rank	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
NBC:							
Number of programs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Number of violent acts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rate (acts per program)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Network rank	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[1] Fall 1976 week reported in Violence Profile No. 8.

CBS claims it found that the week with the highest number of incidents on one network had 1.5 to 2 times the number of incidents of the lowest week. We found in our analysis that this multiple was 1.60 to one for CBS; for the others, it was even less: 1.20 to one for NBC, 1.03 to one for ABC.

The explanation for the discrepancy between our results and those of CBS lies more in differences of methodology than of sampling. CBS limits its observation of violence to those acts its editors presume to be intentionally harmful and excludes the majority of violent presentations they judge to be "comedic" or "accidental." These arbitrary limitations involve much subjective speculation and introduce variability and instability leading to gross statistical aberrations.

Sharply reducing both the number and potential reliability of observations, and then limiting the analysis to a single unstable measure, is indeed bound to "statistical errors of horrendous proportion." These are the errors that our broadly-based and precisely operationalized methods are designed to overcome.

3. RISK RATIOS

The Violence Index reports absolute as well as relative risks. It makes clear, for example, that women are less likely to get involved in violence on television than men. But it also finds that, when involved, relatively more women than men end up as victims.

CBS claims that relative victimization (i.e. victimization compared to the commission of violence across different social types) is difficult to grasp, and is, therefore, a "meaningless statistic."

We must repeat that the validity of a TV content indicator does not depend on viewers' conscious understanding of its meaning. Our Cultivation Analysis shows that exposure to violence-laden television drama cultivates a sense of exaggerated fear and mistrust in the minds of heavy viewers. Young women—with an especially unfavorable Risk Ratio—are particularly affected, despite the fact that in absolute terms they are not as likely to get involved in violence as are the men. What CBS terms "meaningless statistic" turns out to be potentially important in its consequences.

Our analysis of the CBS report and methodology confirms the judgment of social scientists, legislators, and the general public that only a scientifically tested, independent, and comprehensive set of indicators, measuring both TV content and effects, can be the basis for judging network performance. Our experience indicates that the Violence Index and Profile provide such a set of indicators. For independent confirmation, we recommend the findings of an international panel of distinguished industry-affiliated and academic social scientists, brought together by the Social Science Research Council conducting a two-year investigation "to conceptualize and give scientific context to the research required for the development of a multi-dimensional profile of violence in television programming." The recommendations, published in the Annual Report for 1974-75 of the Social Science Research Council (pages 97-101), provide broad scientific support for the general direction and methodology of the Violence Index and Profile and offer advice which is directly opposed to the CBS methodology. A detailed study comparing the Violence Index and Profile with CBS methods will be published in the near future, providing further documentation.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
THE ANNENBERG SCHOOL OF COMMUNICATIONS,
Philadelphia, Pa., August 26, 1977.

Hon. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN VAN DEERLIN: Enclosed is our final reply to the CBS "Final Comments on the Violence Profile."

We appreciate your sensible and considered approach to these complex issues and stand ready to assist in any way we can.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE GERBNER,
Professor of Communications
and Dean.

Enclosure.

P.S.—You may also be interested in the attached announcement.

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[illegible]

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It seems, therefore, that the need for the exclusion does not come from research considerations but from pressures for a "better bottom line." What is most at stake here is the area of children's programing, particularly cartoons, which contain the most frequent (and stereotyped) violence. We cannot agree that such a critical area should be exempt from accounting and scrutiny.

The CBS discussion of the "neutrality" of our content measures is puzzling. We said that measures of content should not *presume* effects. Rather, content measures are hypothetical constructs that facilitate the effective investigation of effects. Ecologists measure the amount of certain chemicals in the air or water (as we do in the symbolic environment) in order to ascertain their presence and then to test—rather than to presume—their effects on people. So the "boundary line" should be drawn not in accepting the popular presumption of ill-defined effects but in the clear and unambiguous observation of the element (in this case of violence) in *any context*. Only such observation can lead to the investigation of the behavioral and conceptual correlates of exposure to strictly defined violence. Proceeding in that way, our research indeed found several very meaningful correlates of exposure, some of which may be quite helpful to some groups.

The underlying problem again may be that CBS is constrained by the nature of critical public discussion which often jumps to unwarranted conclusions. One such conclusion is that the major or only "meaningful" effect of exposure to television violence is the instigation of aggression. That presumption forces on CBS the task of corporate defense, even at the risk of distorting the research issue.

In the course of accepting rather than attempting to transform the terms of the popular debate about TV violence, CBS gets into even more hot water. CBS prides itself on its own research on a few children's programs demonstrating "that children can receive pro-social messages in a comic context." CBS claims that we "ignore the fact that these programs were designed to convey and reinforce messages of a socially acceptable, socially reinforced nature." Well, last fall's overall CBS weekend daytime fare hit a five-year record of 19.2 violent episodes per hour (up from 14.2 the year before). Does CBS mean to suggest that all these other programs were *designed* to be socially unacceptable and destructive? Its defense against simplistic criticism puts CBS in that box. CBS sinks even deeper when it contends that our measures of the abundance of gross and explicit violence in children's programs constitutes a long and unsupported jump to the assumption that children are picking up hidden messages of violence from comic routines!" The fact of the matter is that we do not speculate, as CBS does, about whether or not an act of violence is "innocuous." If our trained coders agree that it is an overt expression of physical force that hurts or kills (or compels action on pain of hurting or killing) we record it as violent. The reason Gerbner could not tell the House Subcommittee whether a particular incident was violent is that for us that is not a matter of personal speculation. The episode would have to be screened, perhaps repeatedly, and the coders would have to agree before it could be recorded as violent. Even then, they would not presume or guess whether an act of violence is "innocuous" or not. It is for our Cultivation Analysis to determine what concepts and behaviors exposure to such content might cultivate.

More problems plague the CBS discussion of the Violence Index itself. Vice President Blank as an economist can see the validity of multidimensional measures of GNP or unemployment. These and other measures he approves "result from closely-reasoned efforts to measure phenomena which are of social or physical consequences." But similar efforts to establish Cultural Indicators (of which the Violence Index is a current example) are dismissed as "nonsense." Why?

The closest we can get to a cogent reason is that the weighting of the components going into the Index is "arbitrary" and that we have not given sufficient attention to the individual components, even though we have included them in our reports.

What are these weightings and components? The Violence Index is composed of (1) the percent of programs containing any violence, plus (2) the rate of violent episodes per program, plus (3) the rate of violent episodes per hours, plus (4) the percent of major characters involved in any violence, plus (5) the percent of major characters involved in any killing. Each of these measures has a specifically defined meaning and function in our analysis. The *only* "weighting" is that we double two rates (2 and 3) in order to raise the low numerical values of these ratios to the level of importance that we believe the concepts of the frequency and program saturation of violent incidents deserve when combined with the other numbers which, being percentages, typically have much higher numerical value. No one is forced to agree with or follow that simple assumption. The individual components for all years are included in our reports and are available for any combination.

The bulk of the Violence Index and Profile is a set of 71 Tables. Thousands of Profiles have been distributed. The composite Violence Index combines the components by means of the formula explained above. Violence Profile No. 8 specifically states (on page 21) that the individual "measures of violence are based on analysts' observations. They are provided in all tabulations and should be used as basic indicators of trends. However, for ease of illustration and comparison, they are combined to form summary scores and an index. These are not statistical findings in themselves, and should not be treated as such. Rather they serve as convenient illustrators of the basic findings and to facilitate gross comparisons."

It is true that most public discussion revolves around the composite Index. Similarly, the broadcast industry refers to overall Nielsen or Arbitron ratings, although these are composed of demographic and other separate—and sometimes conflicting—components. We beleive that there is a general validity to the overall Index, and that consistently applied, it does show meaningful trends in performance. As CBS knows best, the detailed tabulations do not get on network news or into newspaper headlines. We disseminate complete information; it is up to the media to do their homework and use such Violence Index components or combinations of components as they see fit.

CBS reflects some irritation with the perhaps less than felicitous phrasing in our 1977 Report that "CBS, leader in the 'family viewing' concept, lifted its two-season lid on family viewing time violence * * *." Let us look at the individual components of the "family hour" Index for 1973, 74, 75, and 76.

Percent of fall season CBS family hour programs containing any violence: 50, 50, 27, 63. Percent of hours containing violence: 60, 56, 31, 60. Rate of violent episodes per program: 4.4, 3.1, 1.8, 1.4. Rate of violent episodes per hour: 5.9, 3.9, 3.1, 2.2. Percent of leading characters involved in any violence: 43, 29, 23, 32. Percent of leading characters involved in killing: 13, 7, 0, 0. It is clear as we report, that while the number and rate of "family hour" violent incidents declined, and killing by or of leading characters was eliminated, the percent of programs with violence and characters involved in some violence has increased, making the overall "family hour" Index 127 in 1973, 100 in 1974, 60 in 1975, and 101 in 1976. (The corresponding Index numbers for *all* CBS drama were 174, 174, 154 and 181). The factors that determine these movements are clearly not our measures but network policy and its application by the network's department of Standards and Practices. If next season's program mix shows a policy of replacing the "lid" on more or all aspects of violence, we shall be pleased to report it.

The CBS list of family hour programs and the rhetorical question "Which of these programs did parents need to have their children avoid because of violence?" continues the persistent misreading of the issue and of our reports. Nothing we report suggests that parents have children avoid specific programs. The Violence Index and Profile measure aggregate programming policy and its consequences. These are cumulative over the years, do not stem from single programs, and involve a variety of lessons of different potential value for different groups. Reducing violence to a mechanical and one-dimensional issue only reinforces the superficiality of the popular debate.

The CBS discussion of units of analysis and sampling adds little of substance to what we have discussed before. Our units, defined according to participation of the same characters, are easier to code, yield more information—and more but briefer incidents—than those of CBS. They further help to place the violence in a social context. That is something CBS and other networks have long demanded, but refuse to do themselves. The investigation of such context is highly indicative of a variety of potential lessons to be derived from TV violence. But it is not a prime subject of popular criticism and is therefore of little corporate interest.

The variability of year-to-year incidents of violence has been equally large in both our and the CBS samples (cf. the 1977 CBS report, page 4). That is why we (unlike CBS) use the much more broadly-based Index which combines several measures, and discuss upward or downward trends over the years, rather than statistical differences from one year to another. In fact, until the sharp and surprising rise in violence last year, our reports tended to emphasize the *lack* of significant change, despite repeated network promises and protestations.

The rationale for focusing on regularly scheduled dramatic programs should be obvious. Our study is designed to investigate the representative and repetitive patterns of programming, and not the occasional or exceptional "specials." It is not at all difficult to define what is a "special;" the networks promote them heavily and usually announce that "the regularly scheduled program will return next week." However, *any dramatic production* such as "Roots" or a mini-series would be included in our analysis if it fell within our sample week. If and when the actual variability of the week-to-week programming pattern justifies enlarging the sample to obtain representative results, we shall do so. At the present time that is far from the case. Behind the revolving door of formats and titles, there is a persistent stability of basic content elements and social patterns portrayed in the programs.

This brings us to the last point of some substance. CBS claims that our findings would suggest that "women and nonwhites are meeker and less aggressive in defending their rights than they used to be." That is careless reading and tendentious reporting of what we actually found. We say nothing about what women and minorities do because that is not what we study. We study the pattern of television violence and find that it places a higher burden of relative victimization upon women, nonwhites, and other minority groups such as children and the elderly than upon the white male majority. We also find that heavy viewing of television, with other factors kept constant, is related to a sense of exaggerated danger and mistrust. An independent study by Dr. Nicholas Zill[3] of the Foundation for Child Development has since come to the same conclusion for children. The recently released report of the United States Civil Rights Commission[4] also notes the inequitable and stereotyped representation of minorities and women. Of course this does not mean that television alone determines human behavior. What it indicates is that violence-laden television drama cultivates an unequal sense of vulnerability within a conventionally stereotyped power and value structure. Both the growing militancy of some groups and the growing resistance to change of others, as well as the increasing fear of most, takes place in that cultural environment. Television is an important contributor to these trends.

The CBS comment on "causation" is a straw issue. We have never used the terms "cause" or "effect." That is why we call our viewer study "cultivation analysis." We have demonstrated that heavy viewing of television is significantly and systematically associated with the cultivation of certain conceptions of social reality, and that these conceptions tend to be related to the content of television.

We are in the process of expanding and diversifying our monitoring and cultivation studies. We are developing additional indicators of family life, aging, health and medicine, and other key issues regularly presented in television programming. What we have profited from this and other exchanges will thus be put to use in our continuing studies.

Only an independent scholarly effort can afford to let the chips fall where they may. In the long run, that is the best protection for the public and also for the television industry. As broadcasting policy develops in new directions, we will report the facts, as we have in the past. Independent scientific research is the best defense against uninformed or unwarranted public criticism and the best guide to policies that reflect careful consideration of all important social consequences.

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[3] "National Survey of Children," Foundation for Child Development, 345 East 46 Street, New York, N.Y., 10017.

[4] *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television.* A report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, August 1977.

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION FOR TELEVISION
AND CHILDREN—WATCH,
Washington, D.C., February 26, 1977.

Hon. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Communications, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: While we understand the limitations imposed by scheduling, we are disappointed that we will not have an opportunity to testify at the House Subcommittee hearings on televised violence next week. We have followed this issue very closely and would like to outline several points and questions that, to our knowledge, have not yet been addressed or answered satisfactorily. Our hope is that you will find some way of bringing these concerns into focus during the hearings:

1. It appears that the issue of TV violence is a Gordian Knot that is completely enveloping time, money and attention which might be devoted more effectively to answering the question "How can we *improve* the product of television programming and advertising?"

2. If we have learned anything during the last fifteen years, it should be the irrelevance of the phrase "the American public." The American public consists of a broad range of people with varying skills, attitudes, cultural and economic backgrounds, expectations, physiques and senses of humor. There are those who relish violence as a form of entertainment and those who do not. Just as we have come to distinguish between the rights of smokers and non-smokers, so we must begin to distinguish between these two groups with opposing attitudes about violence.

3. Most reasonable observers of human nature accept aggression as a basic element thereof and recognize its role as a motivator and behavior and shaper of attitudes. Perhaps some attention should be given to the efficacy of passive TV viewing as opposed to active participation in sports, hobbies, community service, the arts, etc. in providing positive outlets for normal aggressive instincts.

In his book A Sign for Cain: An Exploration of Human Violence, published in 1966, Dr. Fredric Wertham profiles the denial of harm that is frequently used: "If a patriotic film is shown, it makes for patriotism; if a religious film is shown it helps religiosity; if a communist film is shown it spreads communism; but if a sadistic film is shown, it helps people get rid of sadism."

One can reasonably question—particularly in regard to children's programming—the value, in a democratic society, of programs which Dr. Isadore Ziferstein has classified as "anti-interpersonal relations, anti-cooperation, and anti-democratic (the latter expressed in the proliferation of "leader" or "strong man" programs).

4. Dr. Bell, U.S. Commissioner of Education, was quoted in the May 1976 issue of TV GUIDE: "Our human misery and sadness and murder—most of it—is caused by the greatest malady of all, universal human ignorance. . . . The educational system ought to be a lot better than it is. But television, too, could help. It could do much more to help us keep on learning how to learn." Dr. Bell suggested that TV producers make an effort to include positive learning experiences in scripts.

5. The "Myth of the Violent Society" is dispensed, unsurprisingly, by those who profit from endless depiction of violence and tragedy in its many forms. Ours is an extremely competitive and materialistic society in which, contrary to the idealistic picture generally instilled, opportunity and resources ARE limited. Consequently, frustration is common; aggression and violence do occur. But when the media become obsessed with violence—just as they are trendily obsessed with sexual innuendo and celebrity gossip—the picture of reality becomes distorted. Packaging the negative aspects of life for sale in cheap little boxes is unrealistic, unartistic and ethically untenable, if one believes that television not only reflects but perpetuates.

6. The TV industry like to point to the First Amendment and freedom of the press. Unless the industry identifies with the pulp press, however, it must recognize the standards that the press imposes on itelf. Restrictions concerning libel and obscenity exist because they were considered necessary to prevent abuse. If our newspapers were all written in the style of Normal Mailer—regardless of whether we appreciate his talents as an author of books—there would be considerable outcry.

7. The industry calls those who speak out against the current balance of programming standards "righteous elitists." They claim pressure groups have no right to proclaim standards. But why should TV producers and writers, the majority of whom breathe the rarified air and represent the values and attitudes of Hollywood and Madison Avenue, be permitted to determine standards without reference to the rest of society? Is an industry that can scarcely come up with realistic, positive portrayals of women, blacks and cultural minorities capable of coping, in isolation, with the question of televised violence?

8. Isn't it time we stopped passing the buck of responsibility, recognize and accept our mutuality of concern, and begin to engage in meaningful dialogues?

Yours for television in the public interest,

(Mrs.) Elizabeth Milke,
(For WATCh).

[Whereupon, at 7 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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